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REPORTAGE, COMMENTARIES ON STOCKHOLM CONFERENCE

Romania's Andrei Speech

AU201751 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1719 GMT 20 Jan 84

["Romania's Stand, President Nicolae Ceausescu's Outlook and Opinions, as Presented to the Stockholm Conference by the Romanian Foreign Minister" -- AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Stockholm AGERPRES 20/1/1984 -- The Stockholm conference -- Minister Stefan Andrei said -- has a special significance in the present-day international circumstances when restoration and development of dialogue and mutual confidence-building, the strengthening of each nation's security are fundamental for the ensurance of peace, detente, and cooperation in Europe and worldwide.

Showing that the situation has deteriorated appreciably of late, after U.S. medium-range missiles began to be deployed in West European countries, the Romanian minister said: It is Romania's view that the deployment of new missiles cannot and must not be acquiesced as something inescapable, that there is no justification for an escalation of the nuclear arms race. Romania worked busily on that line, he went on, President Nicolae Ceausescu made a number of proposals apt to help finding solutions, sent letters to the two sides and to other states urging them to do their best for appropriate agreement to be reached in the interest of security to all, of peace.

The gravity of the situation after the new missiles began to be sited, negotiations were broken off and countermeasures were announced prompted Romania to take new initiatives to check the renewed escalation of nuclear arming.

Recently, President Nicolae Ceausescu and Greece's Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou called again on the leaders of the USSR and the USA to take undelayed action in order to put an end to this serious situation.

Passing on to the conference aims, the Romanian minister said: Certainly, at this stage, the conference pursues specific goals according to its mandate given in Madrid. Its role can and must be a positive one in building up confidence and security, in reducing mistrust and easing tension in the international life. Yet, we must not cherish illusions that this would guarantee peace but ought to tell peoples frankly that real security can only be achieved if actual disarmament measures are consistently taken and prompted, foremost among which are an end to nuclear escalation and the reduction of nuclear weapons in Europe.

In this spirit, the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, and the Romanian Government consider that firm action should be taken at present:

I. To halt the emplacement of the new missiles and the stockpiling of the ones brought to the European Continent, to prevent the arrival of new US missiles in Europe. Furthermore, the Soviet Union should cancel or not implement its announced countermeasures. Upon this basis, the Geneva talks should resume so as to reach accord on the non-deployment of intermediate-range nuclear missiles, the reduction and scrapping of ones in place until Europe is freed from all nuclear weapons -- both medium-range and tactical.

Romania considers that the countries where the new missiles are to be sited have a great responsibility but that they can play an important role in breaking the current deadlock as they are in a position to demand a postponement of missile deployment until accord is reached.

The two nuclear superpowers -- the USSR and the USA -- have a significant responsibility for overcoming the current critical situation. In this spirit, Romania's president called for a meeting of the foreign ministers of the Soviet Union and of the USA and for the preparation of a Soviet-US summit.

Since nuclear weapons are being located in European countries and a war with intermediate-range nuclear missiles would be waged in Europe, adversely affecting the lives of all European nations, the European countries cannot stay unconcerned and let the two nuclear superpowers alone decide Europe's destinies. On the contrary, all European states should make an active contribution to finding ways to surmount the current state of affairs, halt the nuclear arms race on the continent and achieve a balance of forces by reducing rather than increasing the existing nuclear arsenal.

Taking account of the existence of military blocs, the countries in their membership should play an active role and take direct part in negotiations, thus helping the two superpowers reach accord. In this regard, Romania is for a meeting of the foreign ministers of Warsaw Treaty and NATO states to discuss the present situation and, by overcoming the current critical moment, help the resumption of talks. Romania considers that when the Geneva talks between the Soviet Union and the USA are resumed, a consultative commission of the countries in the two military pacts should be set up, to include other European, neutral and non-aligned states as well, which should analyse every proposal and contribute to the conclusion of an agreement between the two sides. In any case, the countries in the two military blocs should be engaged, in one form or another, in the conclusion of a corresponding agreement.

II. To adopt tangible and efficient measures to halt the arms race and achieve a passage to the implementation of an effective programme for disarmament, for nuclear disarmament in the first place, under efficient international control, a programme providing for a halt in the manufacture of nuclear weapons and a passage to the gradual reduction of existing stockpiles until their complete liquidation, and to a definitive ban on all nuclear arms and on other weapons of mass destruction.

For this purpose, it is necessary to dynamize the work of the Geneva disarmament conference for understanding to be reached on the items included in the agenda, and for the working out, in the shortest possible time, of a global disarmament programme.

A radical measure for confidence and security-building in Europe is the cessation of the arms race on the continent and real disarmament -- both nuclear and conventional.

Efforts should be channelled towards achieving the security of states with the lowest level of arms.

III. To pass on to the reduction of conventional weapons as part of a sustained long-range disarmament process ultimately leading to general and total disarmament.

In this respect, Romania is for the resumption of the Vienna talks which should rapidly reach understandings on the reduction of troops and armaments in Central Europe.

IV. To freeze military spending and pass on to its reduction -- by 10 to 15 per cent in a first stage -- under efficient negotiated accords.

V. To create nuclear-free zones through understandings among the states in the respective regions with nuclear powers pledging not to use nuclear weapons, and force in general, against them.

Starting from the importance that the creation of like zones in various parts of Europe has for disarmament and confidence-building, Romania has declared and worked for the setting up of denuclearized zones in the Balkans, northern Europe and other parts of the continent.

VI. To adopt efficient measures to enhance interstate confidence and strengthen international security.

Romania considers that the reduction and removal of the danger of military confrontation by diminishing military activities in border areas and other sensible regions, the removal of the suspicion caused by military activities, the restriction and renunciation of mistrust and tension-generating military activities, the gradual limitation of the geographical area covered by the arms race, especially of the zones where nuclear arms are located, a growing exchange of information and reciprocal consultation in the military field, especially in times of crisis, a pledge to fulfill to the letter the duties taken under the agreements to be signed during the conference can contribute to confidence and security-building.

Then Stefan Andrei listed the 15-point proposals put forth by Romania, by President Nicolae Ceausescu that the conference should consider and agree upon in its first stage:

1. Renunciation of multinational military exercises along state borders.

2. Observance of a 50-100 km-deep strip of land along state borders where military exercises, movements and concentrations of armed forces and armaments are banned as is the setting of major units of these forces on the alert, or where armed forces, arms and military activities are limited as one step toward arms-free-zones.

3. Creation of a strip of land free of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, and eventually of armed forces and arms along a line between NATO and Warsaw Treaty countries where only border guards and order keeping forces are stationed.

4. A ban on military exercises or on ships and aircraft carrying nuclear weapons in land or sea border areas running 50-100 km-deep into the territory of states.

5. Limitation of the armed forces that take part in military exercises.

6. Mandatory advance notice of military exercises and significant land, air or sea military activities.

7. Mandatory notice of setting on the alert national armed forces or armed forces stationed in foreign countries, or large units of those forces.

8. Mutual information and systematic consultation on matters related to the security of Europe and its states, on averting and solving any crisis.

9. Measures to prevent a nuclear conflict by miscalculation or accident.

10. An all-European treaty of non-recourse to the threat or use of force whose provisions and measures can give effect to respect for security, territorial integrity, national sovereignty and independence of each participating state.

11. A ban on new troop movements, and location of new military bases in the territory of European states and an end to developing and upgrading the existing ones.

12. A freeze of military expenses of the states attending the Stockholm conference at 1984 level until agreement is reached to reduce them.

13. Support given to the efforts for the creation of zones of peaceful cooperation and good neighbourliness free of nuclear weapons in the Balkans, in northern Europe and other parts of the continent.

14. A ban on war propaganda and the building through the mass media of confidence among states, ensurance of the peoples' right to peace, life, liberty and independence.

15. Every time a conference stage ends, progress in negotiations on confidence and security-building measures in Europe should be made public.

While making these proposals we are ready to analyse, in a constructive spirit, the proposals and ideas advanced by other participants, every suggestion apt to help the conference attain its goals, build up confidence and achieve cooperation.

Referring to the proceedings of the Stockholm conference, the Romanian minister emphasized that by its entire activity it should carry into effect the mandate given in Madrid and reflect the spirit of the final document.

We believe that the first palpable measures to be negotiated and adopted should come into force before the end of 1984.

Moreover, Romania considers that the first phase of the conference should lay a firm foundation for confidence and security-building on the continent, so that the future meeting of the states participating in the 1986 Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe can decide on a passage to the next phase devoted to negotiations and the adoption of real disarmament measures.

Romania considers the application and strict observance of the rules of procedure and democratic work methods of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe to be of primordial importance.

In conclusion, Stefan Andrei stated, Romania is firmly resolved to make alongside the other states participating in the conference, its full contribution to this action of historic importance aimed at confidence and security-building on the continent.

Bulgaria's Mladenov Speech

AU201550 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 19 Jan 84 p 5

[Speech by Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs, delivered at the Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Security and Disarmament in Europe in Stockholm on 17 January]

[Text] (BTA) -- Mr President, we came to Stockholm aware of the fact that we will deal with the most critical problems of European relations. We are in the capital of a country that long ago proved its commitment to peace and that for 170 years now has not waged any wars; it is the country where the "Stockholm appeal" was born in 1950 and signed by more than 500 million men and women, and it is a country that today has again attracted our attention with the timely initiative by Prime Minister Olof Palme regarding the establishment of a zone free of tactical nuclear weapons in contral Europe.

I would like to express genuine gratitude to the people and Government of Sweden for their readiness to host the Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Security and Disarmament in Europe as well as for the wonderful working conditions provided for us.

Mr President, the international situation has recently become particularly exacerbated. The arms race has reached alarming proportions. The world has become an arena of dramatic confrontations and conflicts. The cause for this is obvious -- the U.S. ruling circles preferred to digress from the road to detente and take the road to confrontation. This was achieved with the agreement and even support of certain of its NATO allies.

The appeals for "a crusade" against the socialist countries, the transfer of ideological contradictions to international relations, the fanning of the myth about a "Soviet military threat," and the assertions about the "United States' and NATO's lagging in the military sphere" -- all this, regardless of the peace-loving statements we have heard recently, is only a smoke screen trying to conceal the main thing, which is to undertake specific actions to disrupt the military and strategic balance between the USSR and the United States, between NATO and the Warsaw Pact in order to achieve military superiority and pursue a policy from a position of strength. Its ultimate goal actually is not concealed -- it is to destroy real socialism as a system. It is obviously not accidental that some doctrines have emerged according to which a nuclear war is possible -- in the most varied forms and degrees, and under various names.

A grave threat for peace and security also is overshadowing the peoples in the other regions of the world. The number of hotbeds of world conflicts has increased: The military intervention in Lebanon has expanded, an aggression against Grenada was carried out, the undermining operations against Nicaragua have been intensified, and the aggression against Angola has continued.

Let us, however, come back to our continent. The statements of some leading figures in certain countries that they do not recognize "the territorial-political realities in Europe" established after World War II, which have become frequent recently, do not contribute to strengthening confidence and security. Such statements are at odds with the spirit and provisions of the Helsinki Final Act, which was signed by the leaders of their countries. Are the measures undertaken to disrupt economic and scientific-technical ties with the socialist countries -- the discrimination, "sanctions," blackmail, and pressure, which have created an atmosphere of imbalance and mistrust among the partners -- in conformity with the spirit of Helsinki?

The climax of this long series of confrontations was the deployment of new U.S. intermediate-range missiles in certain West European countries.

One who is seriously concerned about the peace and security of the peoples cannot accept the thesis that with deployment of the new U.S. missiles in Europe nothing has actually happened. This violates the established approximate balance of military forces that for years has served in an objective way the security and stability of the continent. It also creates a new qualitative military-strategic situation that has already begun to exert an extremely unfavorable effect on East-West relations. There is even a danger, if no turning point in the present situation emerges, that this process could develop and become permanent.

As a country that is within the range of these missiles and as a state interested in the development and deepening of the process of security and cooperation in Europe, the People's Socialist Republic of Bulgaria cannot remain an indifferent observer. This is why we support the appropriate measures undertaken with the sole purpose of safeguarding the security of the Warsaw Pact countries.

These measures are an appropriate reply to this provocation. And besides, with their restraining force, they actually defend the security and life of all European peoples.

The policy of the socialist countries on issues of nuclear weapons in Europe has been and is a constant one -- namely, to reach an agreement on limiting and reducing these weapons and of completely freeing Europe from them. In addition to this, there can be no discrepancy between words and deeds on this matter. This policy was actually followed by the Soviet Union at the Geneva talks. The Soviet Union has done everything within its power to reach a mutually acceptable agreement. All proposals submitted by it have taken into account the interests and security of the partners. Had the other party displayed a readiness for frank and honest dialogue, the talks would have ended successfully. It is unfortunate, however, that all Soviet proposals were rejected as "unacceptable in principle," while the counterproposals were variations on a single intention: unilateral disarmament of the Soviet Union and undermining the security of the Soviet Union and its allies. By beginning the deployment of the missiles, the United States made the talks devoid of any sense and actually doomed them to discontinuation.

Now we are witnessing a paradox: Those through whose fault the talks were disrupted claim to be their most ardent proponents and appeal for resuming them. This can happen, however, only if the situation existing before the deployment of the Pershing II and cruise missiles is restored. We have always been of the opinion that the most difficult and complicated issues, including disarmament issues, can be resolved only through negotiations, but honest and constructive negotiations. In this connection, I will allow myself to quote the words of Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general and State Council chairman of the People's Republic of Bulgaria: "Two things are always present in our peace initiatives -- respecting the interests of the partners and the principle of equality and equal security."

We are convinced that neither contradictions among states or groups of states nor differences in social systems, ideology, or way of life nor opportunistic interests can replace the basic need of all peoples -- to protect peace and avoid nuclear war. The successful conclusion of the Madrid meeting has shown that when all countries make efforts and show initiative to find mutually acceptable agreements, the results are positive.

No one should doubt that in the new situation the People's Republic of Bulgaria together with the other Warsaw Pact countries will remain loyal to the principled course of strengthening peace and security in Europe and the world and of developing peaceful relations among the countries of our continent in the spirit of the principles and agreements of the Helsinki Final Act. The numerous constructive proposals of the socialist countries to resolve the most acute problems of our times are also proof of this.

Mr President, under the conditions of the present dangerous international situation, the Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Security and Disarmament in Europe is acquiring particular political importance.

Its role is an important one also because now it is the only forum within the framework of the all-European process.

It is imperative to give further impetus to detente, which should result in a constructive political dialogue among the participant states so that an atmosphere of confidence is created and the risk of military confrontation in Europe is reduced. We want to believe that our partners, present in this hall, will show political wisdom and good will in order to reach mutually acceptable decisions.

The Bulgarian delegation has the staunch intention to contribute to the creation of such a spirit in the conference likely to intensify the process of detente, secure for it a character of constancy, and enrich it with new measures for confidence-building, security and disarmament.

The successful preparatory meeting in Helsinki in the autumn of 1983 inspired some optimism. At the same time we take into account the fact that a road of confrontation will not be an easy one. It will not be easy to undertake a correct course at such a period of tensio., insecurity, and increased mistrust. It will not be easy, but we are confident that progress is possible.

A spring wind could blow from Stockholm -- it is possible, but in order to transform this possibility into reality each participant in the conference must be clearly aware not only of the gravity of the present international situation in Europe and the world and of the urgent need to improve it, but also of the fact that it is necessary to negotiate in a businesslike and constructive way by adhering to the principles of equality and equal security, without attempting to violate the existing approximate strategic balance and pursue unilateral advantages. This is the only way. While taking into account the interests of the partners -- not only in words but also in deeds -- the process of detente begun in Helsinki can be continued and stabilized.

We will actively cooperate with those who are ready for honest decisions and compromises in the difficult work we are facing. We want to believe that with joint effort we will overcome any possible attempts to make use of the Stockholm conference to gain time in order to fulfill any perilous war plans.

Mr President, the present conference differs from all the rest of the forums as agreed upon in Madrid in its subject and nature. This conference will discuss problems that affect the most sacred thing of each state -- its security.

The political nature of the conference obliges us to discuss such problems and to strive to achieve such results as would contribute to the establishment and development of a climate of confidence in the military and political sphere and open the door to its second stage, whose agenda will cover disarmament problems.

That is why by introducing the element of security the mandate of this conference expanded and developed the scope and meaning of confidence-building measures. Thus was opened the basic trend in the activity toward elaborating the agreements on building confidence -- by searching for and finding the balance between the political, contractually-legal, military-political and military-technical measures that are mutually complementary. They all have to be dependent on the basic criterion of the mandate -- reducing the danger of military confrontation.

The document of the Madrid meeting defines in conclusion the goal of the present conference by particularly emphasizing the importance of the countries' obligation to refrain from using or threatening to use force in the relations among them. In our view, this is of unquestionable importance. Without recalling some other proposals by the Warsaw Pact states in this sphere, I would like to draw my colleagues' attention to one of the most essential parts of the Prague Political Declaration adopted by the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee. This involves the idea of signing an agreement on the mutual non-use of military force and on maintaining peaceful relations between the Warsaw Pact and the NATO states. I would like to recall a specific element in our proposal, namely that other countries may also join this agreement. I think that the conference will discuss this problem seriously and in detail, because an agreement on the mutual non-use of military force and on maintaining peaceful relations could be a major element in the sphere of confidence and security.

The Stockholm conference can and must contribute to the limitation and elimination of the nuclear threat overshadowing Europe. It will be difficult to strengthen the confidence among us if we restrict ourselves just to elaborating measures that will enable us to follow the movement of almost every single regiment in the European countries while closing our eyes to the fact that deployed on our continent are Pershing II and cruise missiles that are being prepared for combat readiness for a first strike.

A number of constructive proposals have been made on behalf of the Warsaw Pact in the sphere of nuclear disarmament: on freezing nuclear arsenals; on assuming the obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons; on establishing nuclear-free zones; on limiting and reducing nuclear weapons; and on freeing our continent of nuclear weapons -- not only intermediate-range ones but also tactical weapons -- which is our ultimate goal in Europe.

These are not only "declaration-proposals" as some people call them. These are specific and constructive proposals, and we are ready to sit down at the negotiating table immediately and discuss them in detail.

Mr President, I would like to touch on the problems of nuclear-free zones in the various areas of Europe.

From the rostrum of the Stockholm conference I again express Bulgaria's positive attitude to the proposal to create such a zone in central Europe which, in our opinion, should be substantially larger than the proposed 150 km. I would also like to confirm our support for the idea of turning northern Europe into a nuclear-free zone and also for the Soviet Union's well-known constructive attitude toward it.

As you know, Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, has proposed that concrete steps be undertaken to turn the Balkans into a nuclear-free zone. This proposal was widely welcomed by the public of the Balkan countries. The governments of the majority of our neighboring states also expressed a principled positive attitude toward it. We have good grounds for considering that there are chances for realizing this particularly important initiative, which is in the interest of strengthening confidence among the Balkan states and peoples and also of consolidating peace and security in our area and on the entire continent. I hope that certain specific issues for realizing this idea will be clarified at the Athens meeting of specialists of the Balkan countries, which has just begun.

Only a week ago, the Warsaw Pact states proposed to NATO that it convene a conference in 1984 on a preliminary exchange of opinions on issues of freeing Europe of chemical weapons. We expect that the governments of the NATO states will discuss this proposal with the necessary attention and seriousness. Without going into detail on this issue, I want to emphasize that this is a major initiative on reducing military danger and strengthening mutual confidence. It is only natural that achieving a total ban on and the elimination of the stockpiles of chemical weapons is more important.

The socialist countries have declared many times that there is no type of weapon about whose elimination the socialist countries are not ready to negotiate. This refers not only to all mass destruction weapons but also to conventional weapons, We have declared many times that the goal we are pursuing is to achieve general and full disarmament.

Mr President, we agree that the need and possibility for expanding the parameters of confidence-building measures included in the Final Act and for further developing some of its agreements is ripe.

More specifically, I have in mind information about major military maneuvers and the major movement of troops, about limiting the number and scale of military exercises, and about naval and air force activities in the seas and oceans and in the airspace above them, Europe included. However, these and eventually other measures of a military-technical nature must be formulated in such a way that there can be no possibility for using them as a means for collecting additional military information.

In discussing the military-political and military-technical aspects of strengthening confidence and security, the issues of controlling and fulfilling the agreements reached will occupy a major place. We also attribute major importance to these issues and believe that they will not hinder the achievement of positive results.

In our view, the mandate agreed upon in Madrid is a basis for correctly resolving the issues of control -- each control measure must be in keeping with the meaning and scope of the specific confidence-building and security measure.

Life shows that the establishment of confidence among states is a complicated problem that affects various spheres of their mutual relations. That is why it is impossible to build a reliable mechanism to measure confidence and security in the military sphere alone. That is why we are approaching the Stockholm conference primarily from a political and not only from a military-technological point of view.

Mr President, the need to reduce tension and the risk of a military confrontation are now determining the basic course of the all-European process. The success of the Stockholm conference would enrich its meaning and would create conditions for uncovering new possibilities for its further development.

Today the widest strata of the public are keenly aware of the problems of preventing the threat of war and safeguarding peace. By accepting efficient measures for the consolidation of security and confidence and for disarmament, the conference is called upon to undertake the first steps toward achieving its goal.

This is the desire of the European peoples united in their desire to live in peace and with confidence in the future.

That is why we are deeply convinced that the concern for peace, security and confidence in Europe and also the responsibility for its future must from the very beginning dictate the course of the conference and direct its work toward achieving positive results. A peaceful Europe is in keeping with the deepest, vital interests of all the countries participating in this all-European conference and of all countries and peoples in the world.

Thank you for your attention!

CSSR's Chnoupek Interviewed

LD202118 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1612 GMT 20 Jan 84

[Text] We now broadcast the interview given to Viliam Roth, Czechoslovak Radio's special correspondent in Stockholm, by Bohuslav Chnoupek, Czechoslovak minister of foreign affairs, prior to his departure from Stockholm where he attended the Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Security Disarmament in Europe.

In answer to a question of how he assesses the first stage of the Stockholm conference, Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek replied:

[Begin Chnoupek recording in Slovak] I think it is premature to assess the Stockholm conference today, that is on the last day of the first stage. As we know, on the basis of agreement at the preparatory meeting in Helsinki, four rounds of talks will take place this year at bimonthly intervals. These talks are scheduled to go on until the middle of December. Nevertheless, after speeches by 35 ministers and by Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme, it is possible to give certain impressions, certain feelings, with regard to the substance of the conference, because -- and I would like to emphasize this -- the very fact that the conference has taken place with the participation of 35 ministers of foreign affairs of the participating states, is in itself -- as many of us have stressed in our speeches -- a demonstration of the viability of the process of relaxation that was started amost a decade ago by the Helsinki conference. And this is very valuable, especially in the current complicated and aggravated international situation, which has been brought about by American imperialism.

I also think that the following merits attention: In the speeches by individual ministers no one dared to question the mandate given to this conference by the previous conference in Madrid -- a mandate, I would add, that was achieved after hard struggle. As is generally known, this mandate, obliges all countries to take new, effective and specific steps aimed at further progress in strengthening confidence and security and in bringing about disarmament.

It is true that there were, so to speak, categories among the speeches delivered at the conference, which were poles apart from each other. This applies in particular to the speeches by the ministers of the Western countries, the NATO countries, which sounded as if nothing had happened since the conclusion of the Madrid conference. They pretended that nothing had taken place on the European Continent, and by this pretence they apparently speculated that they would succeed in diverting attention from the central issue that is, from the deployment of the new American missiles in certain countries of West Europe.

On the other hand, we stated clearly from the conference platform -- and when I say "we" I have in mind the representatives of the socialist countries of the Warsaw Pact -- that military-technical measures in themselves cannot substitute for real disarmament measures in the field of nuclear missiles. Therefore, one cannot pretend in Stockholm that nothing has happened, because something really has happened and as a result of what has happened by the deployment of American missiles, we have witnessed a newly-created strategic situation that has worsened and aggravated the situation in Europe and in the world in general. This is why we stated that Stockholm can in no way be an alternative to Geneva; it cannot replace the disarmament talks. This is why I would like to say in summing up that although, objectively speaking, there exists common interests in maintaining the inter-European process and its development, including and involving the military sphere, attitudes about the realization of the Stockholm conference mandate will apparently differ, as is already being shown.

To return to our speeches. Above all, Comrade Gromyko's speech left no one in doubt that the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact countries are ready to engage in businesslike, constructive, and effective negotiations, which would ensure the Sotckholm conference's contribution to restoring confidence, averting wars, and halting the feverish arms buildup so that the world can return to calm, constructive relations among states and to the process of relaxation. Furthermore, we stressed, and I underlined this in my own speech, that we shall actively counter all attempts to misuse the deliberations in Stockholm to cover up any militarist efforts, and in particular the aggressive plans of the present U.S. Administration. [end recording]

[Announcer] In answer to a question of what the Czechoslovak delegation and the delegations of the other socialist countries expect from the Stockholm confernce itself, Comrade Chnoupek replied:

[Begin Chnoupek recording in Slovak] We expect, above all, that our ideas, our proposals, our notions, our concepts will be realized. As I have already recalled, we came to Stockholm with a clear objective: To realize, within the mandate given to the Stockholm conference, the initiatives of the Warsaw Pact countries, particularly those that came out a year ago from the Prague session of the Political Consultative Committee with a whole set of proposals, including, above all, that important Prague document: the Political Declaration. Our concern is to ensure -- and this is what we would like to expect from the Stockholm confernce -- the realization of the common desire of the governments that signed the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference, as well as the resulting document of the Madrid conference, that is, that the European-wide process of relaxation of tension will, in the spirit of these proposals of ours, also encompass the military sphere. This is our principal concern in Stockholm and this is what we are expecting from the conference.

I think that the initiatives we have put forward so far, above all in the speeches by the ministers of foreign affairs of the Warsaw Pact, can become and indeed are becoming the basis of the line which our delegation will follow at the Stockholm conference and will actively push through. This concerns above all the draft of a treaty on the nonuse of military force and the maintenance of peaceful relations between the membercountries of the Warsaw Pact and the NATO states. Further, this concerns the draft of a pledge by the nculear powers not to be first to use either nuclear or conventional weapons. Furthermore, at issue will be the creation of nuclear-free zones and corridors as well as a gradual liquidation of chemical weapons. This, after all, I mentioned in my speech delivered on the very first day of the conference.

True, we do not renounce other measures and agreements made in the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act and the resulting document from Madrid. We also expressed this line in the name of the Czechoslovak Government in the speech delivered by me. [end recording]

[Announcer] Comrade Chnoupek had a number of bilateral talks in Stockholm. In answer to a question from our special correspondent about how he assesses the results of these bilateral talks within the context of the Stockholm conference, the comrade minister said:

[Begin Chnoupek recording in Slovak] I think it has become a good custom to make use of multilateral talks for meetings among individual ministers of foreign affairs, which always constitute an opportunity to discuss and reexamine issues concerning bilateral relations as well as international issues. It certainly would have been a pity, when so many ministers from Europe and the Western Hemisphere met under one roof, so to speak, not to make use of this opportunity in the Swedish capital. I think I met with the majority of ministers of foreign affairs. If I remember exactly, more than 20 ministers were involved with whom I exchanged views on this very agenda. I believe such meetings to have been rather important and very useful and very interesting, particularly a meeting with Comrade Andrey Gromyko and the ministers of foreign affairs of the fraternal socialist countries. Together we examined the situation in the area concerning the agenda of the confernce and the further coordinated course of action by our delegation, which is the key matter for the Stockholm conference. I also had a number of useful talks with foreign ministers of neutral and nonaligned countries, including my counterparts from neighboring Austria, the host country Sweden, Yugoslavia, Cyprus, Ireland, and and other countries. We were able to exchange with all of them our views on the agenda of the Stockholm conference and we explained our stands on the international situation.

I also had discussions and talks with a number of foreign ministers of Western countries, including the foreign ministers of Canada, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, Norway, Spain, and Portugal. I think we made fruitful use of all these discussions in order to unequivocally explain our stands both on the international situation and the further development of bilateral relations. I have a good feeling that the content and the spirit of these discussions have confirmed once more the authority and prestige Czechoslovakia enjoys in the world. [end recording]

Poland's Olszowski Statement

LS231158 Warsaw PAP in English 1114 GMT 23 Jan 84

[Text] Warsaw 22 Jan -- Polish Foreign Minister Stefan Olszowski made the following statement for PAP concerning the Stockholm conference:

As expected, the start of the debates of the Stockholm conference on measures of buildng confidence, security and disarmament in Europe became an important political event. In view of the present tension in East-West relations, the participation of the 34 foreign ministers in the inaugural session re-affirmed concern over the deteriorating international situation and expressed the will of the majority of the participants to continue dialogue for seeking solutions to current problems.

Preliminary political declarations were a review of stands by the participating states on questions concerning tasks of the Stockholm conference and the possibilities of improving East-West relations.

My address at the conference and the addresses by ministers from other socialist states strongly stressed responsibility -- assumed by NATO states, primarily the U.S. -- for the present lack of confidence and the rise in threat to peace in Europe and worldwide. The [word indistinct] of this confidence is contradicted by the very essence of the U.S. policy from the position of strength. The deployment of the new nuclear missiles in Western Europe is a perilous sign of this policy.

Poland, together with other states-parties to the Warsaw Treaty, pointed at the conference to a number of possible ventures of a political and military nature, which according to us, would lead to an increase in confidence and military detente in Europe. They include initiatives on the non-use of force, not being the first to use nuclear weapons, on atom-free zones in Europe, reduction of military budgets and others contained in the Prague Declaration of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member-states.

There is also a possibility of expanding military confidence-building measures contained in the CSCE Helsinki Final Act on giving notice of large manoeuvres and army movements in Europe.

Some Western states suggest -- as was indicated in their statements -- that the debates of the Stockholm conference be limited to a discussion on the narrowly conceived military-technological issues. We cannot agree to such an approach as the increasing of confidence and security in Europe requires more fundamental measures.

In this situation, the Stockholm conference faces a very difficult task and one should assume that its debates will be laborious and long. After an inaugural part at the ministerial level, the conference will continue its work at the level of permanent delegations.

We will take an active part in attempts at reaching agreement. Poland, as one of the conference's first movers, will act in favour of its success. Not a single stage of the CSCE process lacked our genuine effort. It will also be displayed now. Our delegation headed by Ambassador Wlodzimierz Konarski, was instructed to seek constructive and realistic solutions that would serve our national security and security of the entire Europe.

The start of the conference made it possible to hold many bilateral meetings. The most important was the one between foreign ministers of the Soviet Union and the U.S., Andrey Gromyko and George Shultz. On my part, I attended the meeting of ministers of the Warsaw Treaty member-countries and talked with foreign ministers of Yugoslavia, Sweden, Finland, Vatican, France, the FRG, Italy, Holland, Denmark, Spain, Greece and Canada.

We broadly dwelled on questions of the international situation and bilateral relations. The substance of the talks shows that realism in assessing efforts we employ in resolving our social and economic problems is gaining an upper hand in the West.

The results of the talks should soon bear fruit in the form of gradual departure from the policy of restrictions by those West European countries which had imposed such restrictions on Poland and in the form of further development of relations with other countries.

I wish to state in conclusion that we consider substantial interest taken in the conference by public opinion in Poland and in other countries a positive factor promoting the current course of the debates and their favourable results.

SFRY's Mojsov Statement

AU201606 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 20 Jan 84

[Statement by Lazar Mojsov, federal secretary for foreign affairs, on the first part of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Security and Disarmament in Europe, made to Yugoslav radio stations in Stockholm; date not given -- recorded]

[Text] We have heard the speeches of all the foreign ministers of the countries participating in this conference. At the conclusion of these speeches we can state that all European countries are greatly concerned about the further development of the arms race and are interested in finding solutions to the difficulties facing the blocs. Naturally, it is a long road out of the present tension. However, by their very presence -- all foreign ministers were here, (?and this does not happen frequently), including Gromyko and Shultz -- these ministers demonstrated that diplomacy is still active in the arena of international developments and that it is possible to reach some accords on how to alleviate the current dramatic tension in international relations.

A better atmosphere has been created at the beginning of this conference. Naturally, the well-known accusations of both sides concerning responsibility for the present crisis of international relations were also made. However, a renewal of dialogue has also occurred. For this reason I believe that the introductory part of this conference has carried out its task: We have made our contribution to clearing the clouds that have appeared in the European sky, and through further patient talks, it is possible to reach concrete results at this conference, too, and create an impetus for resuming the interrupted talks between the great powers.

These talks naturally cannot be replaced by what is done here because here we do not discuss the very substance of the crisis, that is, the nuclear arms race and the deployment of new missiles on European soil. This is the responsibility of the great powers.

Mojsov Interview

LD202149 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croation 1800 GMT 20 Jan 84

[Interview with Lazar Mojsov, federal secretary for foreign affairs, by Felip Svetic at the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Security and Disarmament in Europe; date not given -- recorded]

[Excerpt] [Svetic] How would you, on the basis of introductory speeches, briefly define the starting positions of the groups of countries -- that is, the neutral and nonaligned and the two military blocs, the two superpowers?

[Mojsov] There is a certain convergence of interests of bloc countries to place the treatment of the disarmament problems on the sidelines of this conference -- that is, the conference should deal only with some secondary problems such as notifying regarding maneuvers, troop movements, and the like, and the building of the so-called confidence measures in order to strengthen security in Europe. We in the group of nonaligned and neutral countries, however, wish this conference to be more than only an extension of discussing what all the European countries have already agreed upon in the final act of Helsinki.

We want to expand the dimensions and volume of these confidence measures, that there be a decrease in military activities in Europe and a reduction of troops and arms through a slow but definite planned process. Therefore, at this conference, we will advocate that these confidence measures should not refer only to information on some maneuvers but that they should also acquire a more fundamental form -- that is, (?that there) be agreement to restrict military activities already so extensive in Europe that they cause concern to all the peoples.

[Svetic] You have had a series of meetings, bilateral meetings, in the past few days in Stockholm. How would you, on the basis of those talks and on the basis of the introductory speeches, foresee the future course of this meeting, its prospects, and expectations?

[Mojsov] In addition to talks about our mutual relations with each minister I met, the main orientation of these talks has been in looking for ways to have this conference held in the way it is now set out: In the introductory part it should contribute to a reduction of tension and must not be turned into a forum of interblock confrontations.

We do not want the conference to polarize into two opposing blocs where they will accuse one another. We want it to be a conference of all the 35 participating countries. We believe that the bloc countries, and especially the nonaligned and neutral countries, are willing to make a constructive contribution in this direction -- that the conference not become polarized but that it may proceed in quiet tones and discuss on an equitable basis the proposals of all countries.

[Svetic] Thank you, Comrade Mojsov.

GDR Commentary

LD221152 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1105 GMT 22 Jan 84

[From the "Thought on Our Time" program: commentary by Albert Reisz]

[Text] There is one word in political usage which has been constantly repeated during the past months -- namely, dialogue. There is no one who would not admit to having the highest respect for the importance of dialogue. Dialogue is something that brings people together, as our fathers and forefathers before us realized. Talking brings people together -- this is an old saying which has a deep truth but which can also become the platitude of all world philosophy.

So, what about dialogue? No one is rejecting dialogue. Thus everything should be fine or at least improving. However, no one could in any way pretend that this is so. Great care should be taken therefore, that dialogue does not turn into a lot of hot air and that discussion leads to something better and cannot be abused to cover something bad with a curtain of words.

It is in the nature of things that we should apply this to the conference in Stockholm, which many people regard both with hope and skepticism. Both attitudes to the conference, however, reflect the responsibility of those attending the conference -- in the last instance this means the governments of the 35 participating countries. This is, to be sure, an issue full of contradictions. On the one hand, this conference, as its title states, is supposed to create confidence in Europe -- that is its mandate, as the experts call it. At the same time it is intended to lead to disarmament. That is a long way off. On the other hand, this conference on confidence-building measures has been convened at a time when the stationing of the first Pershing II and cruise missiles, medium-range nuclear missiles -- 572 of them altogether -- is taking place. These missile are being brought over from the United States in addition to those nuclear weapons already in Europe. This is precisely the opposite of measures creating confidence.

The fact is that we are not dealing with a reduction of nuclear arms in Europe, which formed the subject of the Geneva talks, but with an increase in their numbers. In other words, the Geneva conference on nuclear arms in Europe has failed because, after the start of stationing additional U.S. nuclear weapons in Western Europe there was no longer a basis for negotiations. Even before the conference was to come to an end, the United States started stationing. What was there left to negotiate? The end of the Geneva conference was actually part of a tangible and visible deterioration in the international situation.

The question which now arises and which has in fact been asked by many people is whether Stockholm, in the face of these conditions, has any prospect of success at all. It is hard to answer this with an unequivocal yes or an unequivocal no. We, that is, the countries of the socialist community, want the Stockholm conference to succeed. And as far as the GDR in particular is concerned, it will do everything to contribute to the success of the conference, as Erich Honecker stated.

There is, however, the other side -- the NATO countries, or more precisely stated now, after the NATO foreign ministers have also spoken, some NATO countries. But perhaps more about that later. If one wants success at Stockholm, then one must also be convinced that there is a chance of success. Otherwise it will not work. Just to make sure we understand each other properly: It is not a question of making pretty speeches to gloss over a dangerous and frightening situation. This would be creating illusions which could be fateful. What has to be done is to consider soberly what might lead to success.

I would like to point out to you in this respect, the passages of the speech by GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer in which he recalled proposals by the socialist countries in the 1950's, during the cold war, and the way which led to the international detente of the 1960's.

I would like to propose to all those concerned about the present situation, regardless of their thoughts as long as the thoughts are focused on how things can be changed for the better, that they also consider this way and, of course, draw their own conclusions. [sentence indistinct]

One of those who was greatly responsible for the cold war, the then U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, admitted at the end of his life that during this time the world had approached the brink of war three times. Even then it could have been a nuclear war. It was possible to lead the world away from the cold war of the 50's and early 60's and towards the detente of the 70's. It was difficult but possible. The socialist countries never doubted this and therefore shirked no effort. They made themselves strong economically, politically and militarily. They did not permit their internal systems to be shaken by (enemies?) or messed around with but went ahead with necessary measures for development of socialism, and consistently followed their peace strategy.

This led many people in the West to cease living on wishful thinking and accept the reality of socialism. This was a victory for Europe. Admittedly, the period of detente did not last very long but it did establish facts that cannot be reversed.

The policy of confrontation and excessive arming which the Reagan administration in Washington is building up into gigantic proportions has made the threat to peace greater than ever before. However, never before have the antiwar forces been as strong as they are at present. These include the many millions of people in NATO countries who are working for peace, while at the same time, above all and primarily -- how shall I put it, -- the peace-preserving capacity of the socialist countries and the Soviet Union has increased many times over. We never said it would be easy to secure peace, but it can be secured. We must only look back to the past decades to strengthen our confidence. In all modesty, the GDR, in its 35th year of existence, can look back on 35 years of yearly success in securing of peace -- a success achieved in alliance with the Soviet Union, which of all socialist countries has always done the most in that area.

We know with whom we are dealing. To be sure, President Ronald Reagan promised that he would no longer call the Soviet Union the source of all evil. Nice of him. But we are waiting for an answer on several vital issues from U.S. policy. When will the United States as well and countries possessing nuclear weapons follow the Soviet Union's example at last by solemnly renouncing the first use of nuclear weapons? When will they at last accept our proposal to relinquish the first use of conventional weapons? Just consider what is contained in these proposals. If everyone renounced first use of both nuclear and conventional weapons, that is no one were first to resort to weapons, then no one would be second either. In other words, there would be no war. And in the long run, these weapons would become an impossible luxury, something used at most (?for show). A response to this is still awaited.

What U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz said in Stockholm is not only unsatisfactory but helps to make Washington's policy even more incredible. How can one, in 1984 and at this conference in particular, cast doubt upon the postwar order of Europe? Shultz and some European NATO governments can guess how wrong a track Washington is on with such ideas. In any event such ideas do not reflect confidence-building in Europe.

We want dialogue, we want negotiations. But if we want it, we cannot act as if the stationing of 572 U.S. nuclear missiles, which began then, was the most normal thing in the world. Europe does not need fine words about extended hands, especially when these are not even free because they are grasping missiles. These lead to nothing. Real political steps can and will help and no one can tell us that the start of missile siting in Western Europe is an inexorable movement. It can be stopped, we can get back to the situation that existed before the stationing began. This would not be the only but would certainly be an important basis for dialogue that is true dialogue and not palaver.

Prague Reviews Conference

LD221509 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 0830 GMT 22 Jan 84

[Commentary by Bohumil Horak]

[Text] The main event in international relations this week was undoubtedly the Conference on Confidence-Building and Security and Disarmament in Europe, which opened on Tuesday in the Swedish capital Stockholm. The attention paid to this conference is not accidental because it concerns one of the key points of current international relations: the question of trust between states. The content of the Stockholm conference was agreed at the Madrid meeting last autumn. In the relatively short period of 4 months which has elapsed since then, the international situation has markedly deteriorated. The deployment of new U.S. missiles in the immediate vicinity of countries of the socialist community has exacerbated the international situation to such an extent that it is seen to be as bad as at any time in the postwar era. This fact could not fail to be reflected at the Stockholm conference.

The foreign ministers of 33 European states and of the United States and Canada, who took part in the opening session, dealt in their speeches with the current international situation from the point of view of trust and security. What is important and enlightening, though, is the different way in which the various foreign ministers spoke. The speeches of the ministers of the Warsaw Pact member-countries left no one in doubt as to the socialist states' sincere interest in the success of the Stockholm conference and their wish for it to become a turning point in the present unfavorable course of international developments. In this respect, the tone was set by the speech of the leader of the Soviet delegation, Andrey Gromyko, USSR minister of foreign affairs. His speech drew attention in an insistent and frank manner to the danger accruing to the world from the adventuristic and aggressive policy of the present U.S. Administration which, Minister Gromyko stressed, thinks in terms of war and acts the same way. The Soviet Minister proved by referring to specific facts that the peace-loving words emanating from Washington over the last few days are nothing but hot air.

In fact, the United States is not interested in achieving a practical agreement on disarmament. This was once again confirmed by the speech by President Reagan, which was timed to coincide with the beginning of the Stockholm conference, and by the speech by U.S. Secretary of State Shultz in Stockholm. The tone of the U.S. leaders, it is true, has become more bland and less outspoken because they cannot afford to ignore the growing breadth and prestige of the peace movement and of the disarmament movement. They have not abandoned their hegemonistic ideas and designs, nor their bid to achieve unilateral military superiority over the Soviet Union and thereby to upset the existing military-strategic balance. Yet they pretend that nothing has happened to upset the applecart, as if the deployment of the new U.S. missiles in Western Europe were of no significance.

The U.S. and other Western officials make a point of stressing in their speeches, in the press, and on radio and television, that Stockholm is, as they say, a great opportunity to renew the Soviet-U.S. dialogue. Western commentaries express disappointment over the fact that after the meeting between ministers Gromyko and Shultz in Stockholm, a complete stalemate remains in Soviet-U.S. relations. This is a hypocritical ploy and conscious deception against the public. The basis for the Soviet-U.S. dialogue was not destroyed by the Soviet Union, but by the present U.S. Administration. It has been gradually eating away at this basis over the 3 years since President Reagan was elected President of the United States, and this week, by the way, was his third anniversary in power. His 3-year record gives little cause for satisfaction. In 3 years, the Reagan administration has failed to sign a single agreement on limiting the arms race, has abrogated a number of previously agreed treaties with the Soviet Union aimed at reducing the threat of nuclear war, has broken off and stonewalled a series of negotiations to this end. The SALT II agreement, for example, has been described in Washington as invidious from the very beginning. The President broke off the talks on a complete and general ban on nuclear weapons testing and to this day continues to sidestep their resumption.

Washington quite unashamedly declares its orientation toward war in space. The United States' attitude has made talks impossible on limiting military activities in the Indian Ocean, and on limiting the supply and sale of conventional weapons, to say nothing of the Geneva talks on medium-range weapons, where the U.S. delegation put forward proposals which it knew were unacceptable to the Soviet Union from the outset, for the sole reason that they starkly contradicted the principle of equal security and equal rights.

The course of the Stockholm conference so far has again reiterated the consistency of the Soviet Union's and the other socialist countries' peace policy. The Soviet Union continues to remain faithful to Lenin's legacy, develops it in a creative way, and lives up to it by its concrete actions. It strives to bring to fruition the words of the founder of the Soviet state -- the 60th anniversary of whose death was marked yesterday by the whole of the progressive world -- which stat that disarmament is the ideal of socialism.

The Soviet Union's aspirations for peace are not restricted to mere words, but its words harmonize with its actions. The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are ready to consider in a constructive manner any measures that would help to build trust, to reduce the level of military confrontation, and to avert the threat of nuclear war. A whole range of examples testify to this, but let us consider just one: Two years ago, the Soviet Union made the unilateral commitment not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, and this commitment still holds. The United States, though, and the other nuclear powers, refuse to make such a commitment. U.S. Secretary of Defense Weinberger went so far as to say recently that if the United States accepts this commitment, it will, as he put it, undermine European security. Instead, in all seriousness, the secretary went on to say that only a buildup of U.S. nuclear weapons will have a beneficial effect on global stability and security.

Is this, then, what Washington's formula for confidence building entails? Do they think that this is in the spirit of the Stockholm conference? How are we to react to the report that the United States, by the end of this month, is to begin testing missiles capable of destroying satellites and other space vessels? Is this the kind of thing likely to consolidate trust between states?

The United States' and the NATO countries' understanding of the question of trust is decidedly odd and, at best, very narrow. They look on it purely as a military technical problem.

Some of their proposed measures, it should be pointed out, have been aimed at trying to glean as much information as possible about various facets of defense in the socialist countries. Only one possible interpretation can be made of this: They are trying, not for the first time, to legalize spying. This is utterly at variance not only with the Stockholm conference but with all the recognized norms of relations between states.

It would be premature, as yet, to try to assess the Stockholm conference, if only because the first four rounds of talks are not scheduled to end until mid-December this year. What is important, however, as was stressed by CSSR Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek in an interview with a group of Czechoslovak newsmen, is that the Stockholm conference should embody the common aspirations of the governments which signed the Helsinki Final Act and adopted the Madrid final document, and that it should carry this pan-European process on into the military sphere as well. The socialist countries are willing for this to happen. This is witnessed not only by the fact that they initiated the conference and by the peace initiatives put forward at Stockholm by the ministers of the Warsaw Pact member-states, but above all by their whole policy to date.

'First Stage' Discussed

LD210050 Prague CTK in English 1642 GMT 20 Jan 84

[Text] Stockholm [No date as received] (CETEKA correspondent) -- The general debate at the conference on confidence and security-building measures and disarmament in Europe ended here today.

Since Tuesday, 35 foreign ministers from countries which signed the Helsinki Final Act, and agreed in Madrid to arrange this conference, outlined their various views on the conference and explained the instructions they gave to their delegations which will start dealing with the conference agenda after their departure.

In the first stage, which will last probably three years, the delegates will discuss proposals how to reduce or eliminate distrust and uncertainty in the military sphere among the European countries. The aim of this stage is to adopt gradually new efficient and concrete measures to strengthen mutual confidence, and later to discuss disarmament measures. The delegates agreed that measures adopted at this stage must be military significant, politically binding and connected with the control of their function. These measures are to express the obligation of states not to use military force in mutual relations. The framework for the first stage of the conference was agreed upon but this week's discussions showed that various countries took different stands towards the aim of the conference, and that there is a tendency to narrow the agenda of the conference as much as possible under the pretext of "maximum concreteness of deliberations". It was especially the NATO countries which refused any discussion about the Prague Declaration proposals from 1983.

The socialist countries will submit a number of proposals aimed at liquidating the main cuases of tension and distrust in Europe. The implementation of these proposals would improve the atmosphere not only in Europe, but in the whole world. These proposals concern particularly the military sphere. All speakers at the conference agreed that it was encouraging that the conference started working despite the missiles in Western Europe.

The Soviet Union and the socialist countries will require that all adopted measures must respect equal rights and interests of the [word indistinct] of all participating countries. The socialist countries hope that common sense will prevail, and that the conference will confirm that detente in Europe is viable to survive. On the final day of the general debate, the last five foreign ministers of the Vatican, Great Britain, San Marino, Romania and Finland addressed the delegates.

First Week Reviewed

LD210044 Budapest MTI in English 1717 GMT 20 Jan 84

["Stockholm -- A Commentary" -- MTI Headline]

[Text] Stockholm, January 20 (MTI) -- MTI's special correspondent Sandor Pirityi reports: The first workweek of the Stockholm Conference is over. The fact that the conference could open at all and at foreign ministerial level at that is not to be underestimated in itself. The realization triumphed that there still are areas where the community of interests of the 35 signatories prevails and even though the armament race cannot be stopped spectacularly, at least political control over the weapons should strengthen. Even if the arsenal of intentional war cannot be reduced, the chances of starting a war out of sheer negligence or misinterpretations of intentions should be diminished.

The first week has shown that the start of American missile deployment influenced the conference from two directions. Andrey Gromyko has made it clear that by upsetting the Eurostrategic balance Washington has undermined talks and confidence indispensable to talks, and also confidence towards itself. The only way to restore this confidence is to return to the situation that had existed before the West European missile deployment. If, however, President Reagan refuses to do so, the announced Soviet counter-steps at three levels will take effect. This means that in Europe there will be missiles at a few minutes' reaching distance from strategic objects of the other side. In view of this the American missile deployment not only obstructs the Stockholm conference but also makes quick agreement at the conference vital.

Many participants stressed that the conference cannot replace other arms reduction forums. However, the positions revealed that the confidence-building measures to be adopted in Stockholm can favourably affect both the Geneva and the Vienna talks. The exclusion of violence, renouncement of the first-use of nuclear weapons and the freeing of Europe from nuclear weapons zone by zone, could create a new situation both in Eurostrategic respect and in the respect of a possible reduction of conventional forces in central Europe.

However, what makes the participants worry is the sorry prospect that NATO's European strategy might foil genuine work also in Stockholm just like in Geneva and Vienna.

Reactions to Andrei Speech

AU211845 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1800 GMT 21 Jan 84

[Text] Romania's position and President Nicolae Ceausescu's concept and opinions on measures for confidence, security, and disarmament in Europe, presented at the Stockholm conference, are broadly reported in the foreign press. Various mass information media point out that the Romanian position left its mark through a clear analysis of European realities and the rich content of the ideas and proposals presented, which together make up a uniform concept of great perspective.

Foreign media stress that, once more, this clearly illustrates Romania's and President Nicolae Ceausescu's principled, firm, and consistent attitude at a time when the vital interests of people demand more than ever before the curbing of dangerous trends of events and resumption of the policy of detente and dialogue.

The Romanian position proves again the Romanian head of state's persevering efforts to halt the arms race and proceed to effective disarmament measures, primarily by reducing and eliminating the unprecedented dangers posed by the medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe. The concrete proposals on increasing confidence and security and opening up the road to measures for military disengagement and disarmament on the continent were met with great interest.

President Nicolae Ceausescu's other recent passionate appeals for peace and for pooling the efforts of the broad masses everywhere to adopt efficient measures to halt the arms race, proceed to disarmament, and completely eliminate nuclear and all other weapons from Europe are also given prime place in the mass information media in various countries.

In reports and commentaries, the foreign press points out the great humanism permeating the international activity of our party-state leader and his steady concern for removing the nuclear danger which threatens the destiny of human civilization itself and for defending the people's supreme right to life and peace. Foreign media highlight the outstanding contributions made by President Nicolae Ceausescu -- passionate promoter of the cause of freedom, independence, and dignity for all peoples and of their inalienable right to independently mold their own destiny and choose the roads of their own social and political development, without any foreign interference -- to resolving key problems of the contemporary world, peacefully settling differences among states through political means, and building a better and more just world.

Final Speakers Summarized

AU211630 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1600 GMT 21 Jan 84

[Text] The Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Security and Disarmament in Europe concluded its plenary proceedings. The last speakers, like the other representatives of the participating states who took the floor, pointed out the need for the Stockholm forum to continue the process begun in Helsinki and to make an important contribution to curbing the current negative trends in international life and resuming and developing the mutual dialogue and trust.

Particular emphasis was laid on the imperative need to ensure that this conference adopts concrete and practical measures to strengthen trust and security, halt the arms race, and proceed to disarmament, with a view to broadly promoting a policy of peace, independence, security, and understanding in the world.

SHULTZ-GROMYKO TALK SERVES 'DEMAGOGIC POLICY'

AU201618 Tirana ATA in English 0930 GMT 20 Jan 84

[Text] Tirana, January 20 (ATA) -- As it has been reported, the US Secretary of State Shultz and the Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko met in Stockholm, where they attended the so-called conference on disarmament in Europe. More attention was devoted to this meeting than to the proceedings of the conference of Stockholm. Shultz and Gromyko had a five hour tete-a-tete talk and touched upon many problems, including the general situation of the US-Soviet relations. Referring to a US top official, the agencies report that "both sides achieved a better understanding concerning the perspective of the bilateral relations." Likewise, this official said that in the talks there were treated of problems of the security of Central America, the Middle East, particularly of Lebanon, problems of the bilateral contacts in the future, etc.

The concern of the two imperialist superpowers to preserve the military superiority over one another and over the others, on behalf of the equilibrium of force, was clearly revealed at this meeting too. Gromyko accused the US policy for militarisation, pointing out the deployment of US mid-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe. He threatened that the Soviet side "will continue to apply the countermeasures, which have already been reported". It is common knowledge that the Soviet social imperialists deployed Soviet mid-range nuclear missiles in some Warsaw Treaty member countries.

The chief of the US diplomacy Shultz used the same language. He attacked the Soviet foreign policy and stressed that "the US policy must be such as to go ahead the military and economic strengthening."

Even Shultz-Gromyko meeting as well as the clamour on it raised by the imperialist-revisonist propaganda serve the demagogic policy of the two superpowers to mask their aggressive character.

ALIA ADDRESSES LUSHNJE DISTRICT AWP PLENUM

AU211549 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 15 Jan 84 p 2

[Halil Lalaj report "From the Meeting of the Lushnje District AWP Committee": "Unilateralism in the Economy Cannot be Combated With Unilateral or Global Party Work"]

[Excerpts] The Lushnje District AWP Committee met the day before yesterday in the spirit of the materials of the Eighth AWP Central Committee Plenum. It discussed the 1983 achievements and the great tasks confronting the communists and the masses in all fields in 1984. The proceedings of this plenum were also attended by Comrade Ramiz Alia, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and secretary.

What was observed particularly at this plenum? Although considerable achievements were registered in this district, as in numerous others, judging by various indicators during the past year (for example, the wheat, sunflower, vegetable, and olive production plans were fulfilled and overfulfilled; the wheat and milk delivery plans were fulfilled; social production increased at a rate three times higher than the population growth rate, and so forth) the members of the plenum dwelled responsibly on some shortcomings, on what should have been done but was not, on concrete responsibilities for this, and on some ideas for the future.

Numerous enterprises and agricultural cooperatives fulfilled their tasks along the line, such as the 29 November agricultural enterprise, the fruit growing enterprise, and the Kryekuq, Ballagat, Golem, Kemishtaj, Cerme, Toshkez, and other agricultural cooperatives. However, the plenum members working in those places sought to find and analyze shortcomings in their work, as well as in the work of the basic party organizations and economic organs. They also demanded an accounting and put forward suggestions on how to further raise the work level of basic organizations and of every individual communist. This analysis was thus characterized by a spirit of sound debate and arguments proceeding from the district's considerable potential: educated cadres, workers and specialists, as well as a powerful material and technical base.

Comrade Ramiz Alia also addressed the plenum. He advised that this spirit of criticism and self-criticism, this spirit of debate based on sound arguments, should immediately be passed down to the basic party organizations, which direct and control all work and tasks. Lushnje District has numerous and comprehensive possibilities, which -- he instructed -- must be exploited more effectively by the leading party, state, and economic organs.

Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed the absolute necessity of further raising the political and ideological consciousness, and the sense of responsibility of the cadres, communists, and all working people to always fulfill the planned tasks. As the party and Comrade Enver teach us -- he stated -- we must measure ideological work by the fulfillment of the planned tasks. Those who complete their tasks on time, those who lead the masses, and those who fight for the implementation of the party's line are the good revolutionaries and communists.

Dwelling on some problems about the livestock-raising sector in the district, Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed that unilateralism in this as in other fields is nurtured by harmful and backward ideas and attitudes. It is a mistake to raise yields by reducing the number of cattle or the acreage of some crops, instead of intensifying efforts to increase yields without reducing the number of cattle or the acreage sown. The people need not only milk but also more meat, he stressed, and the soil needs more organic fertilizers. These manifestations must draw the party's attention in its work with those who prefer the easy way, who neglect those products needed by the economy because they happen to involve greater difficulties.

Comrade Ramiz dealt also with the problem of strengthening the leading role of the party organizations and the vanguard role of the communists. He instructed that the party organizations should be more closely linked with the masses, but not merely through official contacts and meetings. It is impossible to mobilize people unless one enters their hearts, unless one creates such relationships that they open their hearts. The party secretary must go to the village, he instructed, because that is where life is, that is where relations between people, between neighbors, are formed. That is where the old people and the children are, and one must communicate with them, too. Also the cadres must do this from the district to the base.

In conclusion, Comrade Ramiz Alia expressed the belief that Lushnje District has great possibilities to run its planned tasks into reality and to overfulfill them. This is the year of the 40th anniversary of the country's liberation, Comrade Ramiz stated, and it is our tradition that we go to this, our great jubilee, with great victories. Let us therefore turn 1984 into a year of all-out onslaught.

INDRA, HOFFMANN CONDEMN U.S. MISSILE DEPLOYMENTS

AU201350 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Jan 84 pp 1, 2

[Excerpts] Trinec, 18 Jan (our correspondent) -- The test operation of a new oxygen converter steel plant at the Ironworks of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Trinec, which can be described as a highly effective operation by world technological standards, began on Wednesday. It was attended by a party and government delegation headed by Alois Indra, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly.

The test operation was inaugurated with a gala gathering of several thousand of the ironworks' employees and builders of the new steel plant. The participants and guests at the gathering were welcomed by Jan Czudek, chairman of the enterprise's CPCZ committee. The main speech was delivered by Alois Indra.

Honest people on all continents are alarmed by the aggravation of international relations, whose cause is the aggressive conduct of the most reactionary imperialist circles, he said. Particularly the current government of the United States has been trying to upset the achieved military equilibrium between the NATO and Warsaw Pact states; it usurps the right to depict the whole world as a "sphere of its vital interests." It blatantly organizes the suppression of natural liberation movements and interferes by various means in the internal affairs of independent states.

The United States -- without taking into consideration the public opinion of West European citizens -- has pushed through the deployment of additional nuclear missiles in some West European states. Thus it directly threatens the countries of the socialist community and other Asian and African states. It allocates to Europe the role of nuclear battlefield on the presumption that in this way it will avert a retaliatory strike from itself. This is a reprehensible and absolutely unrealistic course that does not take into consideration the changes that have occurred in the world in the past 40 years.

The Soviet Union and its allies are tenaciously striving to maintain peace. They have repeatedly submitted constructive proposals aimed at easing tension, reducing the danger of war -- particularly nuclear war -- and at gradually achieving complete disarmament. However, any eventual agreement is conditional upon the willingness of the other side to accede to a concrete and mutually acceptable solution of the existing problems. One cannot deal with the Soviet Union from the position of strength; the countries of the socialist community have whatever means necessary to ensure their defense, which is their duty and, undoubtedly, a moral right.

Our security and self-confidence are firmly based on the alliance with the Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist community, and the unshakable determination of millions of peace defenders throughout the world. We will not neglect the defense duties one little bit, but will continue without interruption our constructive work, firmly convinced that mankind will defend the peaceful future of our planet, convinced that common sense must prevail.

Hoffmann Remarks

AU201352 Prague PRACE in Czech 19 Jan 84 p 2

[Speech by Karel Hoffmann, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions, delivered at the G. Dimitrov plant of the Prague Avia enterprise on 18 January -- passages in upper case published in boldface]

[Excerpts] The current international situation affirms the urgency of the words spoken at the 10th all-trade union congress, that for us trade unionists, too, there is at present nothing more important than defending the cause of peace. We are alarmed by the rapid aggravation of the world situation, by the considerable worsening of the international atmosphere, troubled as it is, and by the growing militarization and aggressiveness of imperialist forces. Their hatred of socialism and communism, manifested by obvious hostile steps, is driving mankind to the brink of nuclear catastrophe. The current U.S. Government openly sabotages any possibility of dialogue or agreement with the USSR. The United States has not acceded to even a single Soviet constructive peace initiative. On the contrary, with fabrications and lying arguments it justifies the deployment of new nuclear weapons in the FRG, Great Britain, and Italy, thus giving the imperialist war preparations an acute form.

HOWEVER, WE WILL NOT LET OURSELVES BE INTIMIDATED BY THOSE WHO ARE CONTEMPTUOUS OF EVERYTHING MANKIND HAS CREATED AND, IN THEIR CRAVING FOR WORLD HEGEMONY, ARE THREATENING ITS VERY EXISTENCE. NOR WILL WE LET OURSELVES BE BLACKMAILED BY THE THREATS OF THOSE WHO HATE SOCIALISM PRECISELY BECAUSE IT IS WINNING THE SYMPATHIES OF MILLIONS OF WORKING PEOPLE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD AND PRESAGES THE INEVITABLE END OF THE RULE OF CAPITALISM. WHEN NEW U.S. INTERMEDIATE-RANGE NUCLEAR MISSILES ARE BEING DEPLOYED WITH SUCH HASTE IN WESTERN EUROPE AND ALSO DIRECTLY ON THE CZECHOSLOVAK BORDER, THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES HAVE NO OPTION, IF THEY WANT TO PREVENT THE WORST, BUT TO TAKE CORRESPONDING DEFENSE MEASURES. THE INTEREST IN MAINTAINING PEACE AND OUR RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE COMMAND US TO DO THAT.

We are against resolving the problems of the present-day world with military force; we are decisive opponents of war, and even more so of nuclear war. We condemn the activity of those who are focusing on war as an instrument to halt the development of mankind, and to assert their infamous plans. THIS IS WHY WE SO DECISIVELY SUPPORT THE DECLARATION MADE LAST NOVEMBER BY YU. ANDROPOV, THE HIGHEST CPSU AND USSR REPRESENTATIVE, WHICH WARNED OF THE INEVITABLE CONSEQUENCES OF THE DEPLOYMENT OF NEW U.S. MISSILES IN WESTERN EUROPE, AND WHICH IS AT THE SAME TIME A SERIOUS NEW IMPETUS FOR AND CONTRIBUTION TO NEGOTIATIONS AND, IN PARTICULAR, TO A GRADUAL ELIMINATION OF THE THREAT OF NUCLEAR WAR.

PRECISELY NOW THE HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE OF THE CONSISTENT LENINIST PEACE POLICY AS WELL AS OF THE FULL DEFENSE CAPABILITY OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THE ENTIRE WARSAW PACT IS EXCEPTIONALLY CLEAR. FOR THIS REASON WE ALSO FULLY AGREE THAT IN NO CASE MUST ONE PERMIT THE EXISTING MILITARY PARITY IN EUROPE AND IN THE WORLD TO BE UPSET, AND THE UNITED STATES AND THE NATO STATES TO ACHIEVE SUPERIORITY OVER THE USSR AND THE WARSAW PACT STATES. WE THEREFORE SUPPORT THE DECISION OF THE USSR, CSSR AND GDR GOVERNMENTS TO STRENGTHEN OUR DEFENSE CAPABILITY AND TAKE ALL NECESSARY MEASURES IN THE INTEREST OF ENSURING MILITARY EQUILIBRIUM, THUS ENSURING PEACE IN EUROPE.

ARMY PAPER REPORTS SOVIET MISSILE INSTALLATIONS

LD201350 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1320 GMT 20 Jan 84

[Text] Prague, 20 Jan (TANJUG) -- A limited number of citizens of Czechoslovakia were informed indirectly today that Soviet nuclear missiles have been sited on their country's territory. This was done by a report in the army paper OBRANA LIDU on the carrying out of the installation that was published yesterday in Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA. Neither the Czechoslovak daily press nor the radio and television have so far announced anything about this operation. Nor has any official statement about it been issued. The USSR Armed Forces' organ yesterday thanked Czechoslovak servicemen for assistance in carrying out this task and for their hospitality.

According to unofficial reports, SS-20 and SS-22 missiles have been sited in Czechoslovakia.

OBRANA LIDU, which carries the Soviet reportage, is intended primarily for readers in military uniform.

JOINT EXERCISE WITH USSR, HUNGARY 6-11 FEB

LD201910 Prague Television Service in Czech and Slovak 1830 GMT 20 Jan 84

[Text] According to the Ministry of National Defense, a planned joint exercise of the troops of the Czechoslovak People's Army, the Soviet Army and the Hungarian People's Army will take place in the area of Podebrady, Liberec, Karlove-Vary, and Plzen 6-11 February 1984. Its aim is to exercise cooperation between commanders and units of the allied armies in winter conditions.

PARTY YOUTH MAGAZINE ADMITS DRUG PROBLEM

AU161649 Vienna WIENER ZEITUNG in German 15 Jan 84 p 5

[Text] A myth has been destroyed: The drug wave has also reached Czechoslovakia, although official authorities have repeatedly denied this over the past few years. The party youth magazine MLADY SVET has now broken the silence and devoted four pages to the drug problem.

Prague physician Dr Rubes, who was interviewed by the magazine, regards as the main mistake of the authorities their failure to react in time to the problem and to take resolute measures to isolate those people who have spread the drug epidemic primarily among the Prague youth.

To date CSSR authorities have remained silent about this matter. The law provides for prison terms of between 2 and 8 years for drug dealers, and for less than 2 years' imprisonment for drug users. Dr Rubes has called for a joint front of physicians, police, judges, and educators to inform the public and especially the youth about this new "pest."

BRIEFS

MILITARY OFFICE CHIEF DIES -- Lieutenant General Miroslav Rybak, chief of the Military Office of the Chancellery of the President of the Republic, bearer of the Red Star Order and other high state distinctions, has died suddenly at age 53. The funeral will be held on Friday 20 January at 1130 in the Great Hall of the Strasnice Crematorium in Prague. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 16 Jan 84 LD]

HONECKER PRAISES RELATIONS WITH ETHIOPIA

LD201742 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1400 GMT 20 Jan 84

[Text] E. Berlin, 20 Jan (ADN) -- The successful development of friendly relations between the GDR and socialist Ethiopia was praised in Berlin today by Erich Honecker and Ambassador Berhanu Jember. The general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, and the Ethiopian diplomat agreed that in view of the course of confrontation and arms build-up by the most aggressive circles of imperialism, particularly the United States, it is more urgently necessary than ever to mobilize all forces for world peace.

Erich Honecker asked the ambassador to convey to the leading representative of Ethiopia, Mengistu Haile Mariam, his thanks for the message sent to him and cordial greetings.

DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER MEETS WITH ANDREOTTI

LD210533 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1803 GMT 20 Jan 84

[Text] Rome, 20 Jan (ADN) -- On Friday, in Rome, GDR Deputy Foreign Minister Kurt Nier and Italian Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti held a talk on present international problems and bilateral questions. Despite differing views concerning some questions, both sides agreed emphatically that peace and security could be achieved only on the basis of respect for the legitimate security interests of all.

During the talk, which took place in a businesslike and constructive atmosphere, Nier and Andreotti called for the further development of relations between the GDR and Italy.

Kurt Nier, who also met for a talk with the state secretary at the Italian Foreign Ministry, Bruno Corti, visited Rome for political consultations.

SOVIET FORCES GROUP STUDIES COMBAT READINESS

AU201245 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Jan 84 p 2

[Text] Wuensdorf (ADN) -- The 16th delegates conference of the CPSU party organization in the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany (GSFG) took place in Wuensdorf on Wednesday. Based on the decisions of the 26th party congress and the statements by Yuriy Andropov at the CPSU Central Committee plenary meeting of December 1983, the communists analyzed the ideological and organizational work of the party organizations to devise ways for further increasing the vigilance and combat readiness, the quality of combat training and for strengthening military discipline among the troops.

In the report of Colonel General Aleksey Lizichev, member of the military council and head of the GSFG Political Administration, and in the discussion reports, it was stressed that the GSFG soldiers, as well as all Soviet people, unanimously support the domestic and foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state. Together with the comrades-in-arms in the National People's Army they will continue to exert all their strength for the reliable protection of peace and socialist achievements.

The consultations were attended by Army General Aleksey Yepishev, head of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy, and Vyacheslav Kochemasov, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the USSR to the GDR.

HOFFMANN ATTENDS NEUBRANDENBURG SED CONFERENCE

LD202229 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1453 GMT 20 Jan 84

[Text] Neubrandenburg, 20 Jan (ADN) -- In the military Neubrandenburg Bezirk today, a delegates' conference of the SED party organizations discussed the collective responsibility of communists for fulfilling the military tasks of the troop units and divisions. It was attended by General Heinz Hoffmann, member of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee and minister of national defense; and Johannes Chemnitzer, first secretary of the Neubrandenburg Bezirk Executive of the SED.

In the report of the secretariat of the political administration, Major General Wolfgang Dombrowski took the view that under the leadership of the party of the working class and in close alliance with the brothers-in-arms of the Soviet "neighboring regiment," a further growth in fighting power and combat readiness had been achieved. In the discussion, in which 12 delegates spoke, the main focus was on party-work experiences in the mobilization of army members to acquire military skills, and projects in political and combat training to mark the 35th anniversary of the GDR.

As everywhere in the republic, said Gen Hoffmann, the party elections within the National People's Army were proving to be impressive demonstrations of the combat power and cohesion of the SED. The defenders of the socialist German state, above all the communists, will put all they can into helping implement the GDR peace policy with resourcefulness and a sense of duty. In this process, the course of the all-round strengthening of socialism and its protection will be consistently pursued.

In a letter to Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, the delegates affirmed that they will continue to fulfill honorably the class duty imposed on them by the 10th SED Congress.

SED LEADERS SPEAK AT KREIS CONFERENCES

LD212041 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1745 GMT 21 Jan 84

[Text] Berlin, 21 Jan (ADN) -- An additional 36 kreis and city SED delegates' conferences took place today. They impressively demonstrated the party's unity and cohesion, its growing militant strength and close and trusting alliance with all the people. On the basis of the good results in Karl Marx year, the communists laid down new tasks in preparing the 35th anniversary of the founding of the GDR. The conferences formed a starting point for new initiatives in the socialist competition and expressed the certainty that the policy of the 10th SED Congress, aimed at the welfare of the people, the strengthening of socialism and the safeguarding of peace, would be consistently implemented.

Willi Stoph, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, took the platform at the kreis delegate conference in Pirna (Dresden Bezirk). In Aschersleben (Halle Bezirk), Horst Sindermann, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and People's Chamber president, was present. The delegates of Berlin-Prenzlauerberg Kreis conferred with Konrad Naumann, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Berlin Bezirk Executive.

In letters to the SED Central Committee and its general secretary, Erich Honecker, the participants declared their firm determination to make their own contributions, especially at present, to the comprehensive consolidation of the workers' and peasants' state.

PRICES OF FOOD, OTHER PRODUCTS RISE ON 23 JAN

LD212738 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1600 GMT 21 Jan 84

[Text] Apart from the weather forecast, there is only one topic in our newscast today. It is this: As of Monday, the consumer price of several products and the cost of several services will be increased. In accordance with the recommendations of this year's plan, the National Material and Price Control Board and the Ministry of Finance have taken the following measures:

From Monday, the average price of meat and all kinds of meat products will be 21 percent higher. The cost of pork will will rise at a rate near the average, while that of beef will rise at a rate higher than average. Poultry and fish will be 10 percent more costly. Leg of pork and pork chops will increase from 90 to 110 forints per kilogram, while beef cutlets will increase from 62 to 78 forints per kilo. Bologna sausage will rise from 60 to 70 forints, and Gyulai sausage from 136 to 170 forints per kilo.

The price of vegetable-based products of the preserving industry, of conserves and fruit juices, will rise by 20 percent. Here are some incomplete data: Canned garden peas will rise from 15.20 to 17.20 forints, while peach jam will rise from 24 to 30 forints.

Also as of Monday, there will be a 10 percent average increase in the food costs of all health, educational, and welfare establishments and places of work. Compensation costs will also rise 10 percent, but in hospitals, for instance, the excess costs will be borne by the state. At places of work the increases, or part of them, may be assumed by the enterprises.

Apart from this, beer will rise 15 percent. Here also it is a question of an average price increase, and so half a litre of Kobanya light ale will go up from 7.50 to 9 forints.

The cost of domestic heating oil will rise 20 percent; it will cost 4.80 forints per liter.

The cost of night-time electricity will rise 50 percent; it will cost 0.60 forints per kilowatt-hour.

In the case of building materials, bricks will rise an average of 20 percent, cement and tiles will rise 30 percent, and the cost of certain cement-based products will rise 11 percent.

Because of the increase in prime costs, the price of a sedan will rise an average of 6-7 percent. For example, the price of a Trabant limousine will rise from 69,000 to 75,000, and the Lada 1002-S from 125,00 to 134,000 forints.

Water and sewage rates will also go up; each family will pay an average 10-15 forints more a month, but the price increase does not affect those living in state-rented homes.

The prices of free-price products will change on the basis of enterprise decisions, depending on market conditions, and subject to central controls in accordance with the practice of preceding years.

Since, according to this year's plan, the population's financial income will increase by 8 percent -- and within this, wages and salaries will increase by some 5 percent and cash social benefits by 12 percent -- at the same time as the price increases, several central welfare benefits will also be raised.

Thus, from 1 January, those pensioners and people receiving pension-type welfare payments whose pension last December did not exceed 2,800 forints per month will receive a monthly supplement of 70 forints. The supplement will also be given to those people whose pension will be or has been determined after 1 January and does not reach 2,800 forints per month. At the same time, the lowest pensions and the married couple's allowance will go up by 70 forints per month. The amount of welfare provision and the amount for the provision of a dependent relative will go up by the same amount, as will the family supplement for the relatives of regular soldiers.

The family allowance and the income allowance for people with children will go up by 70 forints per month per child. The amount of child-care assistance will also be supplemented by 70 forints, regardless of the number of children. The people concerned will receive this amount, without having to make a separate claim for it, in their payment for the month of January, but the supplements may only be claimed once per person.

The monthly grants for daytime students of universities and colleges will also go up by 70 forints.

Finally, because of the increase of building material prices, the amount of the socio-political discount per dependent child -- in house-building, house-buying, loan, and bill-of-sale contracts concluded after 1 January -- will go up from 30,000 to 40,000 forints. The sociopolitical discount per other dependent family members will go up from 20,000 to 30,000 forints.

So, once again, the price rises are valid from Monday, while the welfare benefits will be increased with the January wages.

Trade Minister on Prices

LD212231 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 21 Jan 84

[From the "168 Hours" program; studio interview with Internal Trade Minister Zoltan Juhar by correspondent Mihaly Gallik -- live]

[Text] [Gallik] A few minutes ago we heard in the news the official announcement on price increases to take effect Monday. These central retail price increases affect consumer goods, and we have known about them since the beginning of December and knew they would take place sooner or later. Both the resolution of the Central Committee session in December and the statement on the 1984 national economic plan state the proportion by which retail prices will rise: 7-8 percent this year. A part of this 7-8 percent -- and not an insignificant part -- consists of the present central price increases. Despite our knowning it, whenever price increases are introduced we constantly ask ourselves and others: Why?

Let me ask you this again: What made this measure necessary?

[Juhar] I believe that the main objectives of this year's national economic plan are known. They are, on the one hand, the maintenance of our international solvency and, on the other, the safeguarding of the living standard already achieved. It is also known that prices, wholesales prices as well as retail prices, have a very important role in the shaping of production and consumption. The present central price increases were caused by -- if I have to give the causes briefly -- the following: One of these -- and we have spoken about this openly in the past -- is the need to reduce budgetary subsidies. A series of goods such as meat, meat products and construction materials receive very substantial state subsidies.

The other major subject is the safeguarding of the security of supply and the adequate level of supplies for the population; that necessary goods shall be commercially available, even if more expensive, and that the money earned by the population can be spent; this is the second viewpoint.

[Gallik] So, this explains what at first sight appears rather strange: that central price increases too can be a means by which we safeguard living standards. At first sight it strikes you as precisely the opposite; that is, when we have price increases our incomes are devalued, and in this connection the relations between the various factors create a situation, just as you said, with respect to supplies.

[Juhar] Yes, there is a certain contradiction here, but at the same time, I can only say yes to this, because here the government, in essence, faces a decision whether to continue a supply policy according to which all the more important produce and goods should be commercially available. In order to achieve this, it interferes with retail prices, the reason for which is to ensure that the producers will as a result, have an incentive to produce. Alternatively, the government could leave retail prices stable, and as a result, producers would become disinterested, costs would rise, and the number of goods of which there is a shortage would increase. In past years and decades we have chosen the former trade policy and -- let me add -- this was proved by practice. Let me add another thing: It is not a joy for the government either, for those who made the decision, to increase retail prices, but this, considering the economic necessities, is an economically compelled measure and had to be done.

Let me mention, among the causes, another factor: the foreign trade and export interest. Alongside the higher consumer prices, the structure of consumption too will change, and this, for export as well, frees certain stocks of goods.

[Gallik] I add that this year we shall not consume domestically the national income produced at home, for, precisely because of our international financial obligations, we shall undertake exports larger than average, and these price increases, too, can contribute to the creation of the exportable stock of goods, to some extent. We know that this is a measure forced upon us, and it is perfectly obvious that both the government and the population consider it such. Nonetheless, when these measures are introduced, when central price increases are decided on, to what extent is it considered how deeply these measures affect the particular social strata? After all, it is obvious here that these measures create burdens to a varying extent for the various groups of the population.

[Juhar] In making these decisions, this point was a fundamental consideration. The politics of the issue were considered when these decisions were reached. Certain social policy measures, too, are related to the retail price increases and come into effect at the same time.

Let me speak of these briefly: Pensioners whose income is below 2,800 forints will receive 70 forints per month, a so-called income supplement.

[Gallik] Above the usual percentage?

[Juhar] Above the usual percentage. The family allowance per number of children will grow by the same amount. The grant for university students in daytime courses and the sum of child-care benefits, all these together, this entire circle, affects 4.6 million people. We know that this supplement does not conpensate fully, but it is a sign nevertheless that in the present difficult economic circumstances the government paid great attention to the situation of these significant strata.

Now, the other thing that I would add here is that in increasing the price of construction materials, we again took into account that private home construction is supported by the government with every means at its disposal, and incentives are provided for it -- let me mention, for example, the provision of credits and other measures as well. There are at present, in respect of private home construction, also so-called social policy allowances. These, the circle of these allowances, are raised by 10,000 forints.

[Gallik] What is important here is that on the one hand certain central retail prices have been increased, but, on the other, the question is the quality of supplies of goods, groups of goods, which have been affected by these increases. I think that we accept the price increases more easily if there are certain guarantees that in the future, too, there will be meat, or, rather, more meat, as well as construction materials and so forth. In other words, what can we expect with respect to supplies?

[Juhar] The national economic plan for 1984 sets out a so-called supply requirement as well. The essence of this is that with respect to food supplies, the provision of goods must be pursued at the same level to which we have become accustomed in past years. With respect to industrial goods, where supplies in a few areas deteriorated last year and where there was much more strain, we shall improve the supplies this year. Speaking of construction materials, these were one of our weakest points of 1983; there were not enough bricks, tiles and a whole series of other construction materials. We have to admit honestly that, in 1984, the supply of construction materials in every area will not be impeccable; we shall not be able to provide in every respect a sufficient variety of goods, but we shall be able substantially to improve construction material supplies. Retail price increases will undoubtedly help in this, but I add here that last year the government introduced a whole series of measures that were to speed up investments in the reconstruction of brick and tile factories. Brick, tile and cement have to be produced domestically; these are such mass products for which the production capacities must be created at home. Let me add another thing: You mentioned that it is centralized retail price increases that are currently taking place. At the same time, in addition to these, for years there have been price changes in free price category as well, in the free market category, and these price changes -- we have to say frankly -- are price increases. Well, today, as much as 57 percent of the turnover of the small retail trade consists of this category of goods. It must be said that in our experience, the population, on occasion, reacts more nervously to these free price category increases, which are more frequent. There is also a complaint here that not all of these are announced, or that these increases are too high.

[Gallik] I think that you have frequently been asked why it is necessary that the free price category goods constitute such a big burden? Precisely because the shaping of these prices cannot be followed by the consumer; that is, it is a particular price at the time the consumer purchases the goods; so it is frequently irritating that yesterday I saw a particular product for so much, and by today, it is already so much more. Or, many put it in another way -- that the price of a particular product is so much in one store, but so much more in another. I believe that if we carried out an opinion poll on this, we would obtain a strange result. A majority of the population -- regardless of whether it symbolizes the real economic interests or not -- would say the circle of free price category goods should be smaller, that the government should endeavor to have a firmer grip on the shaping of prices, and that more things should be regulated centrally.

[Juhar] If we put the question in this way, asking only about this particular aspect, then it is likely that they would vote in the way you have said they would. But a few things need to be added here, and if we do this, I believe that the result of the opinion polls would be different.

[Gallik] Undoubtedly.

[Juhar] Let me say something I consider important here. Let us look at this from another viewpoint. In the clothing trade, with the exception of a few children's garments, everything is in the free price category. This is good, ultimately, because the producers are interested and given incentive -- in an industry like clothing, where almost every year new products appear, or at least the majority of the goods are new products, new fashions -- to produce always more modern, better and more fashionable goods. Now, the producers have the incentive to do this via the prices, and it is to be noted here that the most important incentive is the prices. This is one of the factors. The other factor is that the other element of our price policy prescribes that the basic consumer goods be centrally regulated, and this is not incidental.

Thus I say that, although the frequent price changes in the free price category are unwelcome, if I consider nevertheless the way it affects production and supplies, I, as minister of internal trade, can only affirm that if the producers in a given area have an incentive through prices, then the supplies are better with respect to quality, modernity and even fashion. That supplies could be better even than that is another matter.

Finally a last remark: I also accept part of what you suggested earlier, that with respect to free price category goods, we must not allow free reign. This is not an entirely spontaneous process, because it is no accident that, for one thing, the checking of prices is a very strict requirement. This latter requirement is becoming increasingly stringent, because such a central price increase draws the attention and sensibilities of the population toward this area, and this we must realize. Thus it is necessary that we make the checking of prices more stringent and that we prohibit unjustified price increases, and, if these are implemented by someone, then we must punish him.

Sarlos Discusses Prices

LD222059 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1800 GMT 22 Jan 84

[Interview with Istvan Sarlos, MSZMP Politburo member and deputy premier, by unnamed correspondent on subject of price increases; date and place not given -- recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Comrade Sarlos, the party leadership and the government have been compelled, once again, to raise retail prices substantially, indeed, to an extent that can be noticed by everyone. What was the reason for this decision?

[Sarlos] It would take a long time to give an exact answer. I do not want to spend too much time on this. Therefore, I am going to try to make you appreciate the forces that have compelled the state and party leadership to increase prices and also the process by which we reached the decision on the size of the increases and the selection of the goods to be included.

In working out the annual plans, the economists analyze the opportunities, the country's capacity, and the extent to which we may influence, by our own measures, the development of our foreign relations. Having done that, they propose that the prices of certain articles and groups of articles be raised to ensure the even distribution of burdens. The proposals of the economists make both the party and the government think about that every year. Then both the country's internal situation and the mood and ability of the population to bear these burdens are analyzed. When these two aspects are jointly assessed, the level to which retail prices may be increased on average is then accepted in principle.

I want to stress here that this is no easy task. The leadership is acquainted with the citizens' circumstances as well as their problems, not only in general, but also among the different social strata and various regional units. The leadership knows that there can be no such thing as a rise in prices that is welcome by the citizens, nor can there be an increase in prices that fails to affect the lives and standard of living of the people.

[Correspondent] On the other hand, there is the kind of price rise that increases the mood in people that -- on the social scale -- something unjust is being done to them.

[Sarlos] I would say that all price rises are like that. After all, the person affected by the rise in prices takes as his point of departure the fact that he has been doing good work, honest work, and that the increase in prices is making his life more difficult. However, the raising of prices is connected not only with the conduct of individual citizens, but also with the development of the international markets and the ways in which we can shape our economic relations with the peoples, nations, and countries beyond our borders. It was after taking these into account that we decided to begin this year, once again, by increasing the prices of staple consumer goods, which affect the entire population.

There are articles among those included in the rises about which everyone has been informed. Indeed, these are goods that everyone buys and consumes. They include articles such as meat, the consumption of which is indispensable for a healthy life. There were many debates over the size of the increase in the prices of various goods.

The trade unions have been saying, from the very beginning, that the raising of prices -- which is economically justified -- affects everyone; however, it would be good if we could somehow reduce the effect among the strata that live in the most difficult conditions, namely, old-age pensioners, large families, dependents, and university students. I can now say that, following this initiative by the trade unions, the administration and the party immediately agreed that some kind of compensation should be given.

The extent of this compensation was also a source of problems. Was it to compensate in full or only in part? Indeed, how far was it to extend? As for its extent, our estimates showed that this supplement should be given to those living below a monthly income limit of 2,800 forints. However, we also realized that, owing to the regular increase in pensions due on 1 January each year, many people would move from below the level of 2,800 forints to a position above it. To ensure that they are not penalized, the resolution states that a monthly supplement of 70 forints is to be paid in accordance with the pensions in force not on 1 January, but on 31 December. What is more, even those who may at some stage in the future receive a pension worth less than 2,800 forints, will then also receive 70 forints.

[Correspondent] Comrade Sarlos, can you agree with such an approach to this whole problem, according to which the essence of your decision is to freeze the consumption of the country, in practice, on a level we have achieved, because in your judgement there is (?no money) for (?anything more)?

[Sarlos] We would like to keep consumption on the 1983 level. If I say that in 1983 Hungarian citizens, on average, consumed 74 kg of meat, then I do not mean anything by this, because there are those people who cannot afford even as much as 50 kg, and there are those who can afford more. Therefore, the meaning of this freeze is that we consider this thing in such a way that the total meat consumption of the country will not rise in 1984. Everybody can have the amount of meat or consumer goods he wants. Well, it depends on the management of one's household as to how much and what the person will purchase. In other words, there is no question of a shortage of goods. The issue here is that limiting the growth of consumption, with respect to many items, makes import savings possible, while in other cases it makes an increase in exports possible. In other words, somewhere the price increase affects the shaping of the foreign trade balance of the country.

[Correspondent] I think you constantly use the example of meat as the problem that has the greatest effect, but this applies to everything.

[Sarlos, interrupts] To everything [several words indistinct]. There are strata who are gravely affected by every price increase. Well, those who have not had a home and who build an apartment now will be seriously affected by the increase in the price of building materials. It is not a question of pennies. The 10,000 forints compensation, according to our calculations, is adequate to compensate a family that builds a two-room apartment for the increase in the prices of building materials. In the case of buildings that do not satisfy the demand for homes, this compensation does not apply, and these price rises will be a burden. Let me add that I know that, despite this compensation of 10,000 forints, expenses are considered differently by every citizen than the compensation for them.

[Correspondent] Finally, permit me to ask a general political question. State leadership, year by year, asks more and more frequently for greater and greater sacrifices of our fellow citizens. What does the government promise in return for this?

[Sarlos] We feel the responsibility that is placed upon economic leaders when they ask citizens to understand the difficulties resulting from their measures and to undertake the extra work that follows from these. We know full well that with every measure the interests of the citizen must be served. We know also that now, as well as in the future, the country's life must be organized to keep our country at a distance from those crisis situations affecting other countries. We know well that in implementing our measures we must always seek to prevent an increase in our debt burden. Year by year we should reduce our debts; and through the reduction of these, in the coming years -- taking into account what happens in the world and what is possible in the economy of the country -- where possible, we should improve the living conditions of those who are in the most difficult situation. As soon as possible we should reach a point at which it will be possible to speak generally about our ability to raise the living standard of the population.

At such times the appeals are always addressed to the workers and the peasants, calling on them to produce better and more economically. I profess that it is my conviction that workers and peasants can work well if the conditions make it possible for them to do so. These conditions are not dependent on them but on those who are directing the country, organizing production, and working in public administration, and on those who, if they interpret their duties as citizens in a correct way and not as outside observers of production, are responsible for what goes on at various levels of production.

For this reason we must always say -- as in the case of the current increase in prices -- that responsibility is always collective, while the duties are always particular to the individuals. As for the state and party leadership, its task is to notice every phenomenon and acknowledge every signal. On the basis of these, it is to draw the necessary conclusions as quickly as possible and is also to take the favorable measures the citizens expect of it.

GOVERNMENT STATEMENT ISSUED ON U.S. SANCTIONS

LD202005 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 20 Jan 84

[Statement issued 20 January by the spokesman of the Polish Government; read by announcer]

[Text] In connection with the latest decisions of President of the United States Ronald Reagan, I have been empowered to make the following statement:

The Government of the PPR expresses its disapproval and deep disappointment at the continuing enforcement of all essential restrictions with regard to Poland. State Department spokesman Allan Romberg announced 19 January that the following restrictions, among others, continue to be enforced:

-- suspension of the most favored nation clause;

-- blocking Poland's access to the IMF and World Bank;

-- the ban on regular flights by aircraft of LOT, the Polish airline, to the United States;

-- suspension of the financing of scientists' visits within the framework of the Maria Sklodowska-Curie Fund, which finances joint research ventures;

-- suspension of credit guarantees of the Import-Export Bank;

-- and suspension of credits for the supply of agricultural and food articles to Poland.

White House spokesman Larry Speakes confirmed on 19 January that the policy of the United States with regard to Poland, and its general lines [ogolne zalozenia] are not changed. The announced steps were described as granting to LOT, the Polish airline, the right of 88 charter flights to the United States and lifting the ban on fishing in American fishing grounds. It was stated that the operation of charter flights depends on Poland granting the same number of flights to American air carriers and the fishing quotas for Polish fishermen depends on purchase of American fish. Nevertheless, the possibilities of fishing by the Polish fishing fleet would be cut by more than half compared with the previous ones.

These measures have a very narrow, fragmentary, and provisional character. They do not assure stability in these undertakings and therefore do not allow the expectation of more essential economic profits. Besides, they are to a great extent dictated by the economic interest of American fishermen and air carriers.

Making a decision on the proposed economic undertakings must be dependent on carrying out economic calculations to which the Polish air and fishing enterprises are entitled. For example, as a result of the restrictive decisions of December 1981, the Polish fishing fleet was forced to leave American fishing grounds and to fish on other, more distant fishing grounds. This was linked with considerable expenses. To establish the profitability of another deployment of the fleet demands clear definition by the American side of the permanency of the present decision about fishing rights. The undertaking by the Polish side of air or fishing moves in no way diminishes Poland's demands with regard to U.S. restrictions, including the breaking of a legally binding air agreement. The continuation of basic economic restriction against Poland, which makes our country's situation more difficult, and thus negatively influences the standard of living of Poles, makes us approach partial proposals, which have no permanency, with reserve.

Thus, at present these proposals cannot be considered as realistic steps toward the restoration of normal mutual relations. The minimal scope, and partial character of the decisions of the President of the United States, and the statements of the White House spokesman and the State Department, demonstrate that the American side bases its actions toward Poland on political conditions. This is continuously accompanied by efforts to interfere in our internal affairs, which we have rejected and will continue to reject in future.

I would like to emphasize that the standard of the Polish Government, expressed in the note of 3 November last year concerning illegal and unfriendly actions toward Poland and concerning the principles of normalization of relations, remains in force. The lack of response to arguments contained in our note cannot be hidden behind the recent moves of President Ronald Reagan.

Poland demands the lifting of all restrictions and the halting of all other unfriendly moves in political, economic, scientific, and other relations. We expect that the Government of the United States will take steps to remove the damage suffered by Poland as a result of the unfriendly American policy.

Comment on Easing Sanctions

LD221139 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 21 Jan 84

[Excerpts] President Ronald Reagan has decided to allow the Polish air carrier, LOT to make 188 charter flights to the United States and restore to our fishermen the right to fish in U.S. waters, leaving open the question of the quantity of fish to be caught there. In addition, a document has been published containing tne list of sanctions that remain in force.

But there are actions whose results cannot be calculated. For instance, using propaganda methods to create an unfavorable climate around Poland, its commitments, and goods. There are also not easily measurable but real consequences of a social nature. Imports have suffered, and as a result of a chain reaction this reflects on the size of production, its costs, the possibilities of export, and so forth. On the other hand, exports encounter custom, commercial, and political barriers. The combined expert and import effects have a cumulative result.

How then to assess the Washington decision? The world press agencies report the news conference held by the White House spokesman, Larry Speakes. When asked whether the decisions made by President Reagan indicate a change in U.S. policy toward Poland, he answered succinctly: There is no change in U.S. policy toward Poland. The United States received a note on 3 November last year that expressed the Polish Government's point of view on U.S. policy and the conditions for the normalization of bilateral relations. The main one refers to the unconditional discontinuation of all political and economic actions aimed against our state and economy.

In the light of President Reagan's decision and the statement made by his spokesman, it became clear that the November note from the Polish Government has lost none of its topicality.

Agencies, including REUTER, say of the event described here that the partial easing of U.S. sanctions will have little effect on the Polish economic situation. In fact, this has no practical bearing on the reduction of the current and continually accumulating losses of our economy and the country as a result of the policy of the United States and its allies. These lossess will not be significantly reduced by income from a few score charter flights to the United States, or by the vague promises concerning the possibility of the Polish fishing fleet catching several thousand or even more tons of fish.

It is essential to restore the fundamental principles of international economic and commercial relations, broken by the United States, and to refrain from imposing such actions on other countries contrary to all rules.

These matters are formulated lucidly in the above-mentioned note from the Polish Government to the U.S. authorities that contains a long list of Washington measures unfavorable to us. It also presents the principles on which to base mutual relations: equal partnership without preconditions and observance of principles that should be binding in relations between sovereign states.

DELEGATION VISITS USSR; COOPERATION DISCUSSED

LD210404 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1530 GMT 20 Jan 84

[Text] The Polish Government delegation headed by Deputy Premier Zbigniew Szalajda has ended its working visit to the Soviet Union. Its purpose was to deepen Polish-Soviet economic and technical cooperation and co-production. At the end of the visit Deputy Premier Szalajda met with Nikolay Ryzhkov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Szalajda Makes Statement

LD210445 Warsaw Television Service in Polsih 1830 GMT 21 Jan 84

[Text] A Polish Government delegation has ended a working visit to the Soviet Union. An evening news correspondent has obtained a statement by the head of the delegation, Deputy Premier Zbigniew Szalajda.

[Begin Szalajda recording] We were interested mainly in concrete cooperation between enterprises. We were very interested in economic solutions aiming at effective activity within the economic solutions aiming at effective activity within the economy that are being applied in the Soviet Union, and this is exceptionally interesting from the brigade level on up. Here the whole issue is being settled, the issue of efficiency and cooperation between the collectives in enterprises concerning the stepping up of economics and the efficiency of the economy. We were also very interested in the problem of introducing robots and automation, the things that constitute a bottleneck in our country.

The problem is to initiate the second stage of this cooperation, which will be determined by concrete agreements, concrete forms of joint technology and joint specialization which complement one another and coproduction. In effect this will permit the exploitation of the production capacity of enterprises. Further profitable exports, necessary exports, exports with a future, exports that will also provide development prospects for our economy, prospects for progress and durable, businesslike, economical and effective cooperation between enterprises, should constitute a framework for the whole plan which will then be balanced at the level of the countries involved. [end recording]

MSZMP'S SARLOS LEADS GROUP ON 16-19 JAN VISIT

LD192112 Budapest MTI in English 1747 GMT 19 Jan 84

[Text] Warsaw, January 19 (MTI) -- Led by Istvan Sarlos, member of the Hungarian Socialist Worker's Party Political Committee and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, a Hungarian delegation visited Poland, January 16-19. Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party Central Committee, has met Istvan Sarlos.

In the course of the Hungarian-Polish talks the Polish negotiating team was headed by Deputy Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski. The two delegations exchanged views on questions of science policy, public education, culture, church policy, and youth policy. They also discussed prospects for broadening bilateral cooperation in these fields.

Istvan Sarlos returned to Budapest Thursday.

NATIONAL DEFENSE MINISTRY EXPLAINS BUDGET

LD201215 Warsaw PAP in English 1100 GMT 20 Jan 84

[Text] Warsaw 19 Jan -- Following is the reply of the Polish Ministry of National Defense authorities to POLISH PRESS AGENCY questions about the budget spending on national defence:

The issue of the country's security and of ensuring peaceful existence to the nation is the cardinal principle of the raison d'etat of our socialist state. In these matters, the general line followed by the party and the government has always been invariably right. This line has passed tests in many extremely difficult periods of dramatic strains in the international situation, and it remains an invariably integral part of the joint policy of the Warsaw Treaty states.

Our great historic gain of the postwar period is the ensurance of security, sovereign state existence and inviolability of the borders of our fatherland.

A realistic assessment of the international situation today univocally indicates that everything that makes up this great national gain must be guarded, reinforced and developed particularly well. Peace and security of borders are not given to us once and for ever. These supreme values must be uninterruptedly and persistently fought for.

It is obvious that defence costs, but weakness is even more expensive, and war is the most expensive beyond calculation. Armaments are not strange to the nature of socialism. Hence the socialist countries attach so great importance to the problems of disarmament, and hence they steadily renew their efforts to this end. Had the proposals advanced by the leading bodies of the Warsaw Treaty found receptive soil in the NATO, the international situation would have been entirely different today.

However, the approach adopted by the ruling forces of NATO states towards all detente-disarmament initiatives of the socialist countries is well known. It is known what has befallen the Soviet Union's proposals and why the whole mechanism of disarmament negotiations has ground to a halt.

Imperialism is stepping up its confrontational course. The pressure of its armaments is unabating. This is evident particularly on the example of the moves made by the U.S. Administration and the NATO states in connection with the deployment of new American systems of nuclear-missile weapons in Western Europe.

The policy pursued by the United States and the North Atlantic Pact, which is directed against the Soviet Union and the entire Warsaw Treaty, is also aimed straight against the most vital interests of socialist Poland. This is accompanied by a perverse propaganda which attempts to kid the international public opinion into believing that there is the so-called Soviet threat and that the armaments of the Warsaw Treaty, including Poland, allegedly endanger European peace.

However the truth is that the necessity of possessing an Army adequately-equipped and trained up to date, of reinforcing defence preparedness is simply imposed upon us and our allies by the postwar imperialist forces which continuously generate aggressive designs, which they do not hide at all. Their stepping up of war threat compels the countries of the socialist community, obviously including Poland, to accord a particular treatment to the defence capability and ensurance of the country's security as an essential function of the state.

In our conditions, spending on defence is the objective necessity of the social cost of maintaining peace.

It is an indisputable fact that Poland follows a policy of moderate outlays on defence, which allow for both the magnitude of the threat and the possibilities of our national economy. Our country's expenditure on national defence comes within the limits of 3-5 per cent of the national income: in 1978 -- 3 per cent, in 1982 -- 3.7 per cent, in 1983 -- 3.7 percent, and in 1984 -- 4.04 per cent (plan). In the corresponding periods, the share of military expenditure in many NATO states, which have national incomes substantially higher than ours, has been markedly higher. For example in the years 1978 and 1982 it respectively amounted to 5.1 and 7.2 percent in the USA, 4.2 and 4.3 per cent in the FRG, 4.6 and 5.1 per cent in Britain, 6.7 and 6.7 percent in Greece, and 5.2 and 5.2 per cent in Turkey. In the latest years this share has increased further.

The expenditures on national defence in the state budget in Poland shape as follows (in running prices): 1978 -- 59.8 billion zlotys, 1980 -- 66.6 billion zoltys, 1982 -- 174 billion zlotys, 1983 -- 192 billion zlotys, and 1984 -- 218.7 billion zlotys (plan).

The rate of the increase of military spending in recent years, measured in running prices, requires explanation. The matter is simple. These expenditures increased so markedly in 1982 first of all as the consequence of the price reform effected in Poland. An essential role has been also played by the inflation.

The moderate volume of the Polish expenditures on national defence is testified to by their share in the overall expenditures of the state budget: 6.8 per cent -- in 1978 and 7.1 per cent in 1983.

In Poland's budget, there are sectors with a higher growth rate of expenditures than national defence which is envisaged to grow by 13.9 per cent in 1984 over the year 1983. These sectors include expenditures on culture and art (a 36.8 per cent-rise), secondary schools and education (22.1 per cent), vocational training (18.8 per cent), higher schools (15.3 per cent), health protection (20.2 per cent) and welfare (19.9 per cent).

The Polish military expenditures calcuated in the national currency are officially published annually. Reports on the size of Poland's military expenditures, recently published in the West, confirm a clearly tendentious manipulation with foreign currency exchange rates.

The fact that Western experts use foreign currency exchange rates, completely unreal and fixed arbitrarily, to determine the level of military expenditures of the Warsaw Treaty states (for instance, the exchange rate adopted by the London Institute of Strategic Studies to count Poland's military outlays in 1981: one U.S. dollar - 13.90 zloties or in 1982: one U.S. dollar - 27.83 zloties) results in an entirely distorted and tendentiously overstated amount of the Polish spendings reflected in U.S. dollars.

Taking the official exchange rate of the U.S. dollar - 85.53 zloties as a starting point, one can calculate that the state's budget expenditures on national defence that amounted to 174.0 billion zloties in 1982 represented the sum of 2,035 million dollars.

This exchange rate of the U.S. dollar was binding in mid-1982 and used by the Narodowy Bank Polski to settle current trade accounts. This sum divided by the number of Poland's population puts the defence outlays per one inhabitant of Poland in 1982 at the level of 56.2 U.S. dollars.

This volume is many times smaller than the 1982 volume per one inhabitant in the U.S. -- 938 dollars, the FRG -- 461 dollars, Britain -- 432 dollars, France -- 408 dollars, Greece -- 265 dollars, Denmark -- 219 dollars and in Italy -- 156 dollars.

It is beyond doubt that we are building our defence by means that are decisively smaller as regards absolute figures than in the rich NATO countries.

In this area, fruits are born by the allied cooperation, chiefly with the USSR offering an opportunity to take advantage of the common scientific, design and technological attainments and also to implement mutual supplies of equipment and armaments, advantageous to the sides.

The development of our defence industry is free of the drive to attain the maximum profit, so characteristic of the capitalist relations. A policy of rational modernization of weapons, economical use of military equipment and also various actions by the Polish Armed Forces to promote the weal of the national economy are very important to make effective use of the budget of the Ministry of National Defence.

The production of the Polish defence industry, based on modern Polish and licence solutions, makes it possible to meet the needs of the Polish Armed Forces and to export to friendly countries. Revenues of these exports make it possible primarily to pay for the imports of modern weapons, and also bring measurable advantages to the national economy.

Professional soldiers and the great number of soldiers of the basic active duty multiply the effectiveness of every zloty allocated to the Armed Forces. While fulfilling their duties, the Armed Forces also make an indisputable contribution to Poland's peaceful economic development.

'TRANSCRIPT' OF URBAN'S 10 JAN PRESS CONFERENCE

AU191656 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 16 Jan 84 pp 5-6

["Transcript" of press conference given by Government Press Spokesman Jerzy Urban to foreign journalists in the INTERPRESS Center in Warsaw on 10 January]

[Excerpt] Kevin Ruane, BBC: Referring to the communique issued on the meeting of Primate Glemp with General Jaruzelski and the statement made by Minister Urban on this subject, which specifically concerns efforts to ensure that the internal situation in Poland as well as Poland's internal stabilization promote peace and prevent Poland from becoming the source of a war or conflict in Europe, would it follow from Minister Urban's statement that the Poles or Polish people are in this way being told that they are to behave because otherwise -- if, for example, the supporters of the former trade unions begin to stir things up, the Poles will then consequently have both Soviet and U.S. missiles flying over them?

Jerzy Urban: The internal conflicts that our country experienced were not and continue not to be conflicts that are isolated from the international situation.

Just as destructive activities, the destabilizing political activities of the underground, for example, are not independent activities. They have political, propaganda, material, and organizational support that is obtained from certain Western sources. Because of this and other things, one cannot detach Poland's internal events, which are the source of so many conflicts, from international issues. No one is calling for society to "be on its best behavior." The point is only that the forces that are working to achieve internal conflicts in Poland, as well as to revive and then to reinforce them -- conflicts that would threaten Poland's general internal stabilization -- should be given no scope for these activities.

I would ask you not to suggest when we have a difference of opinion or are in dispute, that the government, when it finds that someone's opinions are inconvenient, says: Oh, be quiet or you will cause a war. I am simply asking you to distinguish between what we were going through during the fall of 1981 -- which constituted a threat to the very structure of the state and could have sparked the threat of serious international repercussions -- from the principles of accord, dialogue, and discussion that are a permanent part of Poland's internal policies. However, it is not by chance that the government is excluding us from participating in a dialogue with the kind of politicians who were formerly openly active, but today are instead active in the underground, and who have a tendency to make Poland a kind of match with which to light an explosive bonfire in Europe.

Gunter Schubert, ZDF, (FRG television): Is there hope, following the talks between Primate Glemp and General Jaruzelski, for any development in the creation of a fund for the development of agriculture?

Jerzy Urban: The government is doing and will do all that is necessary in this area to facilitate the passing of a law on foundations. I expect -- that is, I presume -- that certain steps regarding this will be taken in the near future. We think that these initial steps will also then be followed by measures aimed at setting up a definite foundation. However, the basic issue concerning the prospects of this initiative -- an issue the government immediately gladly welcomed and continues to support is any kind of foreign-currency aid -- the basic thing is foreign currency and material resources. No new legal measures alone will bring anything good for agriculture by themselves. We have had no conclusive information to show that this future fund has any important resources at its disposal. I hope that these resources will come in.

I suppose, however, that there is a certain disproportion between the real economic importance of this initiative and the sensationalist publicity that part of the Western press is giving to the issue of setting up a foundation. In Poland the feeding of the people is an important economic problem and requires large-scale agricultural and economic undertakings. This agricultural fund project is accompanied by many words, words that do not, quite bluntly, cost anything. It is another matter altogether with fertilizers, feed, and so on, because they do cost something. I want to say that Poland does not need help. What Poland needs, above all else, is to rebuild the normal economic relations that would enable the industries that supply agriculture, as well as agriculture itself, especially animal breeding, to function normally again. I am saying this in the light of the fact that the publicity that surrounds the Church's initiative and whose material resources are still unknown, evidences a great disproportion to the real needs of Polish agriculture, and the opinion that Poland should not be subject to economic sanctions and should have the chance to carry out its agricultural economy quite normally, is spoken of in whispers.

I would only ask you not to interpret my words as an expression of any kind of reluctance towards the initiative connected with the Church's agricultural fund, as this would be governed by the fund itself with the participation of individuals who have been authorized by the Church. This is not reluctance on my part, it is only an appeal for the issue to be seen in the correct proportions. For, if the intention behind the publicity around the fund is Poland's economic development and the resolution of our food problems, then I think that the main emphasis in this interest should be placed on issues other than a fund that still has no material base.

Michal Castex, AFP: Minister, another question on what you called the Church fund. Is there still talk of this assistance being exclusively for private agriculture, or would it also be for the whole of agriculture in general, including state farming?

Jerzy Urban: I will be able to give a more detailed reply when the fund has been established and when it has prepared its program, as well as published it. The intention is to help agriculture, but the intention of the Church is first of all to help private agriculture. This does, after all, include the majority of Polish agriculture, so that the government's interest in the matter, in accordance after all, with our agricultural policy, is just the same for private as it is for nonprivate [niaprywatne] agriculture when we are concerned with food products produced by all the sectors of agriculture. However, the whole of agriculture constitutes a certain system that is interrelated. Whatever makes sense for private agriculture can also do so for nonprivate farming. Here, for example, I have in mind things such as land reclamation and water investment programs; they are things that are very hard to separate. Agriculture does, above all, need assistance from certain fields of industry that produce supply goods for it, including among others, feed production industry that is short of certain imported components. This fodder is good for all -- to put it crudely -- cows and pigs, irrespective of who they belong to and whose barn or sty they are in.

Sylvia Odoriz, EFE, Spain: Minister, at your last press conference, when discussing the subject of the eventual release of 11 prisoners, 7 of whom are Solidarity members and 4 are Social Self-Defense Committee members, you said that the authorities are open to all kinds of humanitarian proposals from the Church. I would like to know if, in connection with this, an initiative like this was voiced by the Church during the meeting between General Jaruzelski and Primate Glemp? This is my first question regarding these 11 people. My second is, does the Ministry of Internal Affairs know something about the strange burglary of the apartment of Zbigniew Janas' wife, when some unknown persons broke into the apartment, stole the television set and left the place in ruins; they also stole a cassette on which Janas had taped his voice for his son.

Jerzy Urban: I have not had the occasion to hear about the burglary of Mrs Janas' apartment, so let us pass onto the other question.

The course of the talks between Primate Glemp and General Jaruzelski is reflected in the communique issued after their conclusion. As I have already reported, the talks were of a confidential nature and their participants have not informed us of their details. That is one thing. The next is, I said that the authorities are open to the possibility of settling the effects of the conflicts that shook Poland in recent years in a humanitarian way. I said this with reference to the case of the 11 prisoners we discussed and I maintain and confirm these words. I also made some more definite proposals in this matter. I have in mind the proposal made that these people should go abroad for a while since this would presumably make it possible for the prosecutor and the Supreme Court to grant them amnesty.

REMARKS ON REVIEW OF ECONOMIC SITUATION

Barcikowski on Problems

AU191350 Vienna VOLKSSTIMME in German 19 Jan 84 p 4

[Text] During the 25th Communist Party of Austria Congress [13-15 January] VOLKSSTIMME had an opportunity to interview Comrade K. Barcikowski, PZPR Politburo member, on Poland's economic problems. Barcikowski said inter alia:

Lately the situation has improved and it is continuing to improve. Thus the social situation in the enterprises and throughout the country will certainly also improve.

The greatest problem we are facing today is inflation, the mounting prices of consumer goods, and the wage adjustments that are thus becoming necessary. In the immediate future we will have to establish an economic balance. This will be possible only if we ensure that only actually accomplished performances are paid for, and that labor productivity is raised.

This may not sound very original, but there is no other way to get the economy back on its feet again.

I know that in your country there have been reports in the past few days that major price increases had been planned in Poland, and that the government was then compelled by the pressure of public opinion to retract those price increases. Well, things are of course not as simple as they are depicted in the Western media. Although on the surface it is a question of prices, there is actually a bigger problem involved: How can the contradictions that are making themselves felt in society be brought under control in mutual agreement? (Another problem that is being discussed today is, for example, the new election regulations.) There are various groups among the Polish people and the party is seeking to resolve pending problems by contact with the people. The hostile media, especially those like the American Radio Free Europe station, are interfering in these disputes. Naturally they are trying to cast doubt on the credibility of the PZPR.

Let us take the example of the price increases: We published our views and sought dialogue with the trade unions. Thereupon the trade unions voiced their own views. Naturally the trade unions represent the interests of their members, there is nothing unnatural about that. But this resulted in shouts of triumph at Radio Free Europe: The new trade unions in Poland are against the government! But this is not true, of course.

Or let us take the date of the price increases. We had never mentioned any date, but the Western media proceeded from the assumption that it must be 1 January. Yet this would not have been technically possible at all, because the necessary preparations had not been made. And then when no price increases were imposed on 1 January, there were more shouts of triumph among the Western media: The government had to go back on the whole thing, the government is weak.

It is quite clear what they want: They want to fan the fire and to prevent a normalization of the situation in Poland. But they are meeting with less and less success. Undoubtedly a settlement in mutual agreement will also be achieved regarding the price issue.

Trade Official On Exports

LD201326 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 20 Jan 84

[Interview with Jan Siebeneichen, director of the Department of Programming and Planning in Poland's Ministry of Foreign Trade; date not given -- live or recorded]

[Text] [Siebeneichen] In 1984 we assume an increase of turnover. At the same time we have to put pressure on the export side. The main items will be products of the chemical, mineral, timber, and paper industries. Our food and agricultural export will have to regain its place also. We may expect an increase in the sale of products of the electromachine industry. As far as import is concerned, its level will depend on how much free currency we earn in export. At present it is difficult to count upon a radical change in the situation and in the possibilities of credits for import, and import is indispensable in some particular spheres: components for production and spare parts for installations we bought during the last decade. We also have to have some accumulated means for serving our debt.

[Unidentified reporter] What is the role played by developing states in trade with Poland?

[Siebeneichen] There are interesting markets for us, and they are still not completely penetrated and researched. We are going to increase canvassing and promotion work in exports in those directions. This will make an increase of purchase of goods from Third World countries possible.

[Unidentified reporter] The CEMA member-countries are our traditional trade partners. In what direction will the exchange of goods develop in the current year?

[Siebeneichen] We have assumed an export increase of more than 11 percent, mainly in the chemical industry but also in products of the electromachine industry where we will continue a good growing trend. At the same time we think that we shall be able to increase import from socialist countries even higher, by over 14 percent. More than two-thirds of that is supply import used to improve production in our country.

Economist on Price Increases

LD221544 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 22 Jan 84

[Excerpts] The food price increase: This week we learned that they would take place on 30 January; the discussion has ended, the consultation, too; the Council of Ministers finally had to decide. Now the view of an economist and an ordinary breadeater at the same time. Zygmunt Szeliga at the microphone.

[Announcer] Zygmunt, in conclusion I think it is worth saying one more thing: This is not the final increase. Let's be frank. This is not the end of the increases is it? Even if there's another philosophy (?behind it)...

[Szeliga, interrupting] Hang on, hang on, hang on. I am convinced that this is the last increase at such a high level and with such a scope...

[Announcer] Such a scale...

[Szeliga] ... decided by the government. That means that the entire course of the consultation, everything that was said in letters, statements of various kinds, that was shown by Professor Krasinski's questionnaire, the Price Office questionnaire, all the stances of the trade unions extensively presented in the press -- all these things demonstrated unequivocally that public opinion is absolutely against the accumulation of price increases, and the conducting of such great operations.

[Announcer] But this certainly does not mean something (?will not go up in price) in a few months time.

[Szeliga] Well, yes, from this it does not arise that prices will be constant. Prices cannot be constant. This is generally a fundamental basic truth that we must assimilate, with which we must wake up every morning and...

[Announcer] ...Learn to live with it...

[Szeliga] ...learn to live with it, as happens in every normal economy throughout the world.

Situation Reviewed

LD222003 Warsaw PAP in English 1718 GMT 22 Jan 84

["Looking Back at Last Week" -- PAP headline; by Zbigniew Boniecki]

[Text] Warsaw 22 Jan -- The end of previous week saw a preliminary assessment of the national economy's performance in 1983 made by the Council of Ministers. The most important event of the just passing week was an announcement of the Council of Ministers' decision on food price hikes and ways of compensating them. All in all, it was a period of releasing essential data for the picture of Poland's economic front.

The 1983 initial data showed that, on the one hand we are dealing with the consolidation of clearly positive phenomena, while on the other we have not yet fully managed to eliminate real and potential threats. The growth of national income, though not too impressive [word indistinct] calculated at 3.5 per cent, is a telling confirmation of these [words indistinct] The point is that an increase in the national income has been noted following its four year period of decline.

Other positive elements include an evident improvement of plant production indices in our agriculture and a conspicuous rise in the foreign trade turnover, as regards both exports and imports.

Home market situation continues to be precarious. Though market deliveries keep growing and the food market supplies are under control, with the exception of meat, the degree of meeting social demands in the field of industrial consumer durables, though accompanied by augmented deliveries of some assortments, continues to be unsatisfactory.

Situation in housing also evokes concern. There are signs of progress but at the same time the number of flats under construction is on the decrease and the construction itself takes up ever more time.

Generally, the overall economic and social situation, its entire complexity and intricacies notwithstanding, appears to be heading, inch by inch, in the right direction.

The Council of Ministers' decisions on food price rises to take effect as of January 30, have been made following genuine in-depth and broad social consultations, with new trade unions playing the key role. Finally, the adopted decisions against those proposed initially, provide for a lower scale of rises and higher level of compensations for the worst-off groups of people, that is,the lowest earners and pensioners.

The latter were given more possibilities of earning some extra money. It was also decided that the prices of foodstuffs that make up an essential part of the diet of low income families will not be raised.

The overall results of price hikes decisions will add up to a 115 billion zlotys increase annually (including prices of related products) while the quota of compensations for lowest earners will amount to some 65 billion zlotys. On the whole, the balance of the entire operation that has become a compromise between the objective necessity and social opinions and expectations will bring in some 50 billion zlotys.

Minister for Prices Zdzislaw Krasinski recalled that this year prices in Poland would go up by some 15 per cent, with 7 per cent accounting for effects of price fluctuations of the last year. The remaining 8 per cent will account for this year's increases, that is: food price changes -- 3 per cent, rent rises -- 1 per cent, and others, that is higher prices of industrial goods -- 4 per cent.

It will only be possible to control planned price rises if this year sees no unexpected increase in the incomes of the population.

The final effect of the present increase testifies to the fact that it is not designed to drain the money from the market. It was mostly meant to more closely tie retail and purchase prices, that is to improve those essential interrelations. New retail prices will cover last year's purchase price rises in only some 60 per cent. This means in practice that the road to restore the money-market situation and thus give up the rationing of foodstuffs has been only partly shortened.

And so, the prospects for the first quarter of the current year, also reviewed by the Council of Ministers, do not envisage to lift rationing. This primarily concerns sales of meat and its products, flour and grain products, sugar, chocolate products and edible fats, for the except of oil. The Council of Ministers said that food market supplies in the first quarter of this year will approximate those of the analogous period last year. There will also be less meat for distribution outside rationing.

MALINOWSKI INTERVIEWED ON ZSL ROLE, AGRICULTURE

AU211504 [Editorial Report] Vienna Domestic Service in German at 1700 GMT on 20 January carries a 4-minute Johanna Racina report on an interview given by Polish Deputy Premier Roman Malinowski, ZSL chairman, to Racina sometime during his 1-week visit to Vienna.

Racina says that Malinowski referred to the constitutional law of 20 July 1983 that granted his party the function of an independent [eigenstaending] coalition partner of the PZPR and of the small Democratic Party as, "an expression of the sociopolitical renewal movement that began in August 1980," and "a movement to which the Polish Government feels itself to be still committed." Malinowski also refers to the so-called declaration on cooperation between the PZPR, the ZSL, and the SD of December 1980, according to Racina.

"It is since then that the ZSL, which according to its program represents the interests of Polish peasantry, has scored great successes, particularly in the field of legislation, successes that have also elicited a broad response among the population," Racina says. She continues, "These successes include the recognition of private peasant farms as having the same rights as the nationalized agricultural sector, the adjustment of the incomes of persons working in agriculture to those of other professional groups, and the introduction of an insurance system for the individually working farmers. And the result of all this: Last year the ZSL gained 22,000 new members, most of them youths under 29 years of age. Malinowski is proud that for the first time in Poland's postwar history the trend of deserting the countryside has been reversed. Thousands of young people are now going into agriculture. Theoretically, according to Malinowski's view, Poland, which has more than half a hectare of agriculturally usable land per capita, cannot only ensure feeding its own citizens but even become an exporter of goodstuffs."

"Malinowski traces the reasons for the chronic crisis of Poland's agriculture to a decade-old misguided policy. The tremendous industrial upsurge of Poland in the fifties and later in the seventies was accomplished at the expense of agriculture. Only a minimal percentage of industrial output went into agricultural machinery production. This will change now." Malinowski is then reported as citing figures from the upcoming 3-year plan on the planned output of agricultural machinery.

Racina continues: "Malinowski cherishes no illusions about the aid funds for Polish private peasants administered by the Polish Episcopate: 'The enthusiasm of the media in the West and also in Poland itself is unfounded. This assistance can only be subsidiary, an additional form of assistance. The widely disseminated view that this fund will be able to restructure our entire agriculture lacks any realistic foundation. Primate Glemp also shares my opinion that such hopes, when confronted with reality, will only result in bitterness and disappointment, something which is unncessary.'"

"The chairman of the ZSL shows no understanding for the easing of the economic sanctions against Poland, recently announced by U.S. President Reagan. He literally terms this step a mere tactical gesture and an expression of a policy that lacks the imagination of a great power," Racina says in concluding her report.

WOZNIAK ON WARSAW INVOLVEMENT IN PARTY TASKS

AU191509 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Jan 84 p 3

[Interview with Marian Wozniak, PZPR Politburo member and first secretary of the Warsaw PZPR Committee, by Jadwiga Wiecek: "On the 39th Anniversary of Warsaw's Liberation"; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] Wiecek: What place should the Warsaw PZPR organization have in the tasks of the entire party? This issue has created many misunderstandings. Some say that the Warsaw organization is too ambitious and some that it is not ambitious enough.

Wozniak: The fact that a party organization is placed in the capital should make it obliged to set good examples in the first place. The fact that the 145,000 members of the Warsaw party organization include representatives of all communities -- workers, professors, physicians, teachers, farmers, and economists -- means that we have an unusual potential of knowledge and qualifications and that it is in Warsaw that model methods of the party's functioning in various communities should be developed. Party militancy should be greater and more evident in Warsaw than elsewhere. We are aware of our weaknesses, but we never stop searching for solutions.

The Warsaw municipal party organization worked for 18 months to develop a concept of party activity within Central Administration. The concept has been approved by the Central Committee Secretariat. We try to do the same work in culture, science, and propaganda.

I would like to stress most strongly that Warsaw is not an autonomous center charged with developing the strategy of countrywide party activities. Warsaw has to implement the tasks resulting from the strategy of the ninth congress and Central Committee resolutions because its cadres can do it.

I think that we should avoid being excessively ambitious in the field of management, but we should do our best in achieving maximum results.

Wiecek: What was the greatest socioeconomic achievement and what was a failure of Warsaw in 1983?

Wozniak: Our success is the fact that production results increased 8-10 percent last year and that we are nearing the 1979 level of production. Some plants produce even more. The Ursus Plant is performing better and better. Transportation is also performing better, and people grumble less about shops. I realize that listing achievements is of little use until the people really know that things have improved. Do you think we should rejoice because we can now buy toothpaste and soap in shops? We do not have to rejoice over such things. However, compared with 1981, I think that the consolidation and strengthening of its ranks and the halting of the departure of its members is an internal achievement of the Warsaw PZPR organization. Our party is becoming increasingly more militant. However, I am greatly afraid of blowing a trumpet on account of our successes because we are still not reliable, modest, and efficient enough.

As for negative features, the militancy and impact of small party organizations are still small. Such organizations are mostly established in the area of culture, education, and publishing. The performance of the urban administration is the weakness of the economy. Despite optimistic assertions, bureaucracy is still enormous. Officials' goodwill is not enough to defeat red tape.

Wiecek: What about your evaluation of the accountability-election campaign of the Warsaw PZPR organization on the eve of the Warsaw conference?

Wozniak: The results of this campaign are better than we expected in October 1983. They are the achievement of large-scale activities by tens of thousands of aktivists. We have elected 402 delegates who represent all communities. Every fifth delegate is a worker. The campaign was dominated by concern for crucial problems. Sensational events concerning persons did not take place. The past work was criticized, but, at the same time, proposals to improve the situation in one's own backyard were made. Not so long ago people continued to address a majority of such proposals to the "top," saying: You will implement them. Many creative proposals made during the accountability-election campaign have been included in the program of the coming Warsaw conference. The campaign has also demonstrated that there are many defects in our daily work. Personally, I am against the habit by which party members at first accept resolutions and decisions and only later make known "their opinions" of them. I take the view that it is possible and necessary to have "one's own opinion," but that this opinion should be aired during the development of a resolution or decision. Once a resolution or decision has been adopted, by the shop party organization through the Central Committee, it must be consistently implemented. Otherwise democratism will part with centralism. The point is that we should be wise in action, as is now required of educated and thinking people. We can be that wise.

CEAUSESCU ADDRESSES MEETING ON PRIVATE PLOTS

AU191036 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 18 Jan 84 pp 1, 3

[Speech by President Nicolae Ceausescu at the 17 January Sinaia meeting on "Agricultural Activities and on More Markedly Developing Vegetable and Animal Production on the Household Plots of Cooperative Members and by Private Producers"]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, in 1983 the Central Committee adopted a program on land amelioration and irrigation designed to ensure steady and stable production in all weather conditions. Similarly, at our meeting last December, we debated in detail measures to unswervingly implement the decisions of the 12th congress and the national conference, and to achieve record crops in 1984. All the issues discussed on that occasion constitute tasks for our entire agriculture and we must resolutely endeavor to optimally fulfill them!

At this working meeting devoted to agricultural matters, we also discussed a uniform program on increasing agricultural production on household plots of agricultural cooperative members and on private farms. This program is part and parcel of the plan and measures established to implement the decisions of the 12th congress and the party national conference on more markedly developing agriculture as one of the basic branches of the national economy and on achieving an agrarian revolution.

In order to implement this vital objective, we must continuously improve production relations in agriculture and ensure a sound technical-material basis in order to continuously increase vegetable and animal production.

The program we discussed today is aimed at implementing the measures established for the entire agricultural branch and for cooperative members' household plots and private farming.

As is known, cooperative members are assigned over 840,000 hectares of agricultural land each year out of the cooperatives' communal property. Over 740,000 hectares of that land is arable. Private farmers in noncooperative areas own over 1.41 million hectares of agricultural land, of which 504,000 hectares are arable. All together, this land makes up 15 percent of the country's agricultural land and 12.5 percent of the arable land. To that, we must add the pastures leased to cooperative members or to peasants in noncooperative areas.

Similarly, cooperative members and private farmers own more than 49 percent of the cows, 27.5 percent of pigs, about 49 percent of the sheep, and about 57 percent of the egg-laying hens.

As can be seen from these figures alone, the household plots of cooperative members and private farming play a very important role in our agriculture. However, we must frankly state that the production achieved on both arable land on pasture and hayfields, and in the livestock sector fall short of the potential of these plots and of their material basis. That is why we must take measures to more markedly increase vegetable and animal production in this very important sector.

As is stated in the program you have studied, socialist agriculture -- both state and cooperative -- will undoubtedly continue to play a decisive role in Romanian agriculture. In fact, it currently supplies all grain requirements and most meat, milk, eggs, and other animal production requirements. At our December meeting, we discussed in detail all aspects of socialist agriculture and agriculture in general, so I will not now dwell on them. I would only like to stress that, while aware of the importance and decisive role of the socialist agricultural sector in the future, too, we cannot and must not neglect the role of household plots of cooperative members and of private farming.

The meeting discussed and quite justifiably pointed out various shortcomings and failings. It is perfectly true that state and party bodies, especially agricultural bodies, have failed to pay due attention to household plots. That had and still has a negative impact on the production obtained and on the contribution made by this sector to ensure their own supplies and the state centralized stocks of agricultural produce and foodstuffs.

The program we discussed today is based, as you could note, on the need to rationally utilize land as the major means of agricultural production. Regardless of form of ownership, the land belongs to all of society and must be worked to provide good supplies and food for the entire population!

We must thus ensure that the land is well managed and that its productive potential is continuously increased through irrigation, drainage, anti-soil erosion, and fertilization.

Our program on irrigation and land amelioration covers the entire area of the country, including noncooperative areas, too, and each county must work out measures for all land areas that require anti-erosion, drainage, and irrigation work for which we have provided.

In accordance with the law, all holders of agricultural land, in whatever form, are obligated to work and cultivate all plots and to raise a certain number of livestock. No landholder is exempted from working it and from obtaining maximum production. People who do not work their plots will lose their right to it or their ownership, and their plots will be transferred to cooperatives or allocated to other farmers.

Similarly, all industrial and social enterprises which have yards or plots suitable for agriculture are obligated to work them in their entirety. This obligation is even more binding for state agricultural units, agricultural machinery stations, and agricultural production cooperatives. All holders of agricultural land, in whatever form, must have plans for crops and livestock!

The program we discussed gives examples of crops that can be cultivated on such plots or on privately owned land to secure produce for the farmers' own consumption and for contract sales to state units.

Similarly, the program envisages firm commitments for a certain number of livestock and poultry, with a view to ensuring farmers' own consumption needs and contractual deliveries to state or cooperative organizations.

We have discussed these matters in detail. I will not now dwell on the provisions established in this respect. We must, however, take resolute measures so that in the next 2 years we will be in a position to fully implement these provisions and so that the livestock situation improves in the 1986-90 5-Year Plan, thus ensuring conditions for implementing the last stage of the party program on building the comprehensively developed socialist society.

In order to implement the program provisions, we must resolutely put in order all records covering the entire land area. Communal land and agricultural records must list all land held by state and cooperative units and by each citizen, enterprise, or institution. Annual crops and livestock plans will be established for all land holders, whatever the form of ownership.

I agree with the proposals made here that peasants with more extensive pasture land or hayfields should raise more livestock instead of selling their surplus fields. It should be much more advantageous both for them and for the national economy if hay is consumed on the spot instead of being transported hundreds of kilometers. That will help develop the livestock sector and ensure supplies of meat, milk, wool, and other products.

In view of the fact that considerable quantities of wool and hides are left over in people's households and of the fact that there is a great potential for processing other local resources, too, we must more resolutely develop cottage industry in all localities, including villages. I am referring particularly to units which specialize in processing peasants' sheepskins and wool.

At the same time, we must pay due attention to implementing the provisions of the law concerning the organization of localities, communes, and villages, and to increasing agricultural areas at the expense of building land. I will give you just one example, comrades. A house normally takes up 50-60 square meters, aside from auxiliary buildings. If we build houses with one or two floors, that means that each household can save some yard area and have some 20-30 square meters left over to cultivate. For our country, which has limited agricultural and arable land resources per capita -- as I said on other occasions, we only have 0.43 hectares of arable land per capita -- each square meter of land saved and cultivated is very important for ensuring the agricultural produce we need. That is why the law on organizing and limiting building areas and reclaiming as much land as possible for agriculture must be implemented. At the same time, communes must be organized in a rational and civilized manner, thus raising the general level of culture and civilization of our villages.

Esteemed comrades, substantial increases in the vegetable and animal production obtained on cooperative members' household plots, by private farmers, and by all land holders must serve to cover all the consumption requirements of the producers and result in increased contributions to the self-management and self-supply program and to the state central stocks. The program features all regulations on procurement of or contracts on vegetable and animal production currently in force. It establishes a uniform system of contracts and prices and cancels the obligatory quotas still in force.

The uniform contract system specifies that each peasant household sign contracts on and sell at stable prices certain quantities of agricultural produce, especially potatoes, vegetables, fruit, grapes, and so forth, and a certain number of animals -- cattle, pigs, and sheep -- and poultry, as well as cow and sheep milk, eggs, wool, and other products, in keeping with its plot size, number of animals and poultry assigned to raise, and number of family members. Industrial crops, medicinal plants, and herbs are also to be covered by contracts.

Since the land is the national property of all the people, it is the patriotic obligation of each peasant and each landholder, of whatever kind to produce and conclude contracts on agricultural produce. Our laws envisage the basic principles governing contracts and prices for each product, as well as other benefits, so I will not specify them now.

Various proposals were made at today's discussions. Some of them we agreed to adopt, which means that certain current regulations will be amended. We will examine other measures, too, with a view to creating optimal conditions for the implementation of the program we debated today.

However, I want to call your attention to the fact that we must pay greater attention to pasture and hayfields than in the past. We have extensive pasture land, practically half of the country's arable land. Thus, by cultivating our 4.4 million hectares of pasture and hayfields and increasing production per hectare, we can supply fodder for optimally implementing the livestock program. I am thinking primarily of cattle and sheep. As we said on other occasions, too, measures are required to improve the structure of pasture and hayfields so as to increase their nutritional yield and secure larger quantities of vegetable proteins which are very good and even better than those derived from fish meal, for example.

Resolute measures are also required to supply the private sector and cooperative members' households with the necessary tools and machinery, as well as with fertilizer, pesticides, and other chemicals.

However, we have great resources for fertilizers, such as natural fertilizers, which must be utilized more rationally in all areas.

I will not go into great detail about these matters because the program we established on agriculture features clear provisions concerning machinery for noncooperative areas and tool production, such as mechanical scythes and other things. We must implement the plans and programs we have in this respect.

Coming back to the matter of contracts, I want to stress that through contracts, agricultural producers can be sure of marketing their produce and secure stable incomes in accordance with the law. Trade with agricultural produce and livestock can only be conducted through the state or cooperative enterprises specifically assigned this right.

Private trading and the private purchase or sale of agricultural produce, livestock, or animal products are prohibited. As producers, peasants can sell excess agricultural produce directly to consumers only after having delivered products to state and cooperative units as agreed in the contract. All towns have special markets and fairs will be periodically organized at which producers can market their products directly.

As I have repeatedly stated, black marketeering with agricultural produce and foodstuffs will not be condoned in any form. In order to eliminate middlemen and profiteers, the state allocates 180 kg of wheat and corn annually for each family member of peasants in mountainous areas where grains cannot be cultivated. As many comrades stressed at this meeting, this ensures that people that cannot grow grain should have bread and other staples to feed themselves and their families. The quantities of grain we award according to the law for contract procurement of animals and milk are meant to complement the resources available to each household and to ensure fulfillment of the production under contract.

These kinds of measures were adopted over the past 2 years in order to supply people with the necessary grain through state and cooperative organizations and thus eliminate the need for middlemen and preclude profiteering. That is why we must resolutely ensure strict observance of legal provisions concerning sales of and contracts on agricultural produce, as well as direct marketing by the producers at legal prices. We have set prices for state products and market prices for all items directly sold by producers. The implementation of these provisions this year had a considerable effect on price stability for consumer goods. We must further ensure resolute observance and implementation of legal provisions concerning prices for agricultural produce, as for all other products.

Raising the people's living standard depends on the steady implementation of the self-supply and self-management program and on maintaining stable prices for consumer goods, both agricultural and industrial. As everyone knows, peasants, like all other citizens, purchase industrial goods and certain staples such as sugar and oil through the socialist trade network at equal and stable prices. That means that they, too, should sell agricultural produce for the workers class and other social categories at equally stable prices. This is one of the requirements of the socialist principles of social equity and justice.

Our society has eliminated forever the exploitative classes, oppression, and social injustice. We have accomplished a new social system -- socialism -- and we are building a comprehensively developed socialist society. Economic and social relations among the workers class, peasantry, intelligentsia, and other social categories must be based on equity, equality, and fraternity. The alliance between workers and peasants -- the foundation of our socialist system -- is primarily reflected in production and in trade of agricultural and industrial products at fair and stable prices. All sectors must be governed by the principles of socialist relations which stipulate that no one can live without working or at the expense of another person's work. Each person may secure unlimited income based on work and production.

At one meeting, I even said people can become rich through work. We hope that our workers and peasants, all our working people, indeed become rich through their work. We want a prosperous socialism! But one may only become rich through work and production, and not through exploitation or profiteering! (loud applause) We must resolutely implement the socialist principles according to which no one may make money without working or through profiteering, whether in agricultural or any other area.

In order to prevent negative situations such as have occurred in the past, the program stipulates that socialist commercial organizations are obligated to sign contracts with producers well in advance and to take over the entire volume of produce under contract at the prices established. Similarly, these organizations are obligated to accept additional produce offered by peasants at purchase prices. These provisions are designed to more markedly increase agricultural production and to ensure larger quantities of produce both for local consumption, for self-supply stocks, and for other national economic requirements. On this basis, conditions will be created for an even greater closeness between town and village, for achieving a homogenous socialist society in our country, and for strengthening the unity of all our people within the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front and under the political leadership of the RCP -- the leading force in our society. (loud and prolonged applause)

Esteemed comrades, the implementation of all these provisions must result in better consumer supplies, increased contributions by the peasantry to the general development of the country, and a higher material and cultural living standard for our nation. It must contribute to strengthening our fatherland, its national independence, and sovereignty. (loud and prolonged applause)

I noted during the discussions that in many countries many agricultural producers, private farmers, and agricultural cooperative members have obtained good results, are raising many animals, and are under contract and sell to the state a large number of animals and animal products.

The meeting has unanimously endorsed the program adopted at yesterday's session of the Political Executive Committee. We must now take immediate measures to implement it. However good a program and its provisions and however positive the country's decisions and laws, the decisive role is played by practical activities and by organizational work to implement them. Without that, this program -- like any decision or law -- will remain a mere document. It is therefore decisive that we now proceed to implement it. Actually, that was the reason we called this meeting, that is to discuss the program together and to make sure that everyone understands it so that there can be no misunderstandings and so that everyone acts in the same spirit -- all counties and all communes -- to implement it.

As of this year, as of 1984, we must make radical improvements in all production and contracting activities concerning the household plots of cooperative members and private farms. From everything that has been said here, I gained the conviction that we have the means to improve all sectors of activity as of this year.

The program envisages important tasks for central state bodies. We must ensure unwavering implementation of legal provisions and of plans stipulating the supplies required by that sector to fulfill its production. The Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry will have to grasp that it is responsible for all of agriculture and that it is its duty to provide appropriate seed for each area and good stud material, veterinary surgeons, specialists, and engineers for the private sector, too, according to provisions concerning noncooperative communes.

Agricultural bodies must pay greater attention to activities in noncooperative areas and to the optimal implementation of the established programs.

These bodies are responsible for ensuring that county production plans filter down to communes and that they are understood and implemented.

People's communal, town, and county councils also have important duties. In accordance with the law, they are fully responsible for all activities carried out in the respective commune, town, or county.

All party organizations must also view the implementation of this program as one of the most important tasks for developing agricultural production and for implementing the self-management and self-supply program. All party organizations must endeavor to pool together the forces of the entire peasantry and to ensure that each locality and each person works to implement the programs. The Communists must offer an example in each area, beginning with production, contracts, program implementation, and enforcement of the country's law.

The communal and town committees must consistently supervise the manner in which state bodies and agricultural bodies in a given locality fulfill their tasks and ensure the implementation of the measures established. The party county committees, as the leading political force in the respective county, must strive to eliminate all failings and negative situations and to steadfastly implement the program provisions.

As you see, I have not been too critical, comrades. This time, it was not my purpose to make a critical analysis of activities in this important sector, although much could have been said. However, since we discussed agricultural matters in detail in December, I hope that both state bodies and county committees will not think that because we abstained from criticizing negative situations we are pleased with the way things are going, but will conclude that each person must immediately begin to eliminate failings and implement the program established. I hope that work will be such that at our next meeting, we will not have to wield the weapon of criticism but on the contrary, will be in a position to note that all county committees, party organizations, and state bodies have worked in a spirit of responsibility toward the party, the state, and the people. (prolonged applause)

I want to conclude by once again expressing my conviction that all the participants in the meeting will return home to measures to implement the program we discussed and will work to permit us to come to the 40th anniversary of the revolution for social and national liberation and to the 13th party congress with noteworthy results throughout the agricultural sector, too.

I want to urge all peasants to do everything possible to implement the program on increasing production and on delivering the largest possible agricultural vegetable and animal production, thus contributing to the general development of our country and to the implementation of the party program!

I am firmly convinced that our peasantry, which has always honorably fulfilled its important role in our society -- and in the past shed its blood to defend the fatherland, to build up the nation, and to achieve a united national state -- will further work with self-abnegation and determination to honorably fulfill its mission in our socialist society, in fraternal alliance and together with the workers class! (loud and prolonged applause)

There is one more month before the beginning of the agricultural season. However, as we said in December, preparations must already be underway for sowing. I spoke about this in detail at the December meeting, so I will not expand on it now. However, serious measures must be taken to complete all preparations so that by the end of February we can begin with the sowing and other spring work, and have everything thoroughly prepared, as we agreed. Once again, I want to state that we must do everything possible for our agriculture to show marked improvements this year.

We must obtain record crops in order to ensure good supplies for the people and industrial and other requirements for the national economy, and to increase the contribution of the agricultural sector to the country's general development!

I am firmly convinced that all party bodies and organizations, agricultural bodies, people's councils, and all peasants will work energetically to achieve the important objectives established for this year and for next year.

With this conviction, I wish you and all our peasantry ever greater success, good health, and happiness! (loud and prolonged applause. Loud chanting of "Ceausescu-RCP!" "Ceausescu and the people!" "Ceausescu -- many happy returns!") In an enthusiastic atmosphere, all present in the audience stood up and cheered at length for the RCP and for the party secretary general and president of the country, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.

ENACHE, OFFICALS MARK UNION ANNIVERSARY

AU211941 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1850 GMT 21 Jan 84

[Excerpts] Bucharest, AGERPRES 21/1/1984 -- A scientific session took place in Bucharest on Saturday on "the union of Moldavia with Walachia on January 24, 1859, a crucial moment in the formation of the unitary Romanian national state".

In the opening address, Petru Enache, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, pointed out that the day of the union of the Romanian principalities was a fundamental moment in the Romanian people's history.

The following papers were read out during the session: "The Nicolae Ceausescu Epoch -- The Epoch of the Most Fruitful Accomplishments in the Romanian People's History", by Ion Coman, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP; "The Great Epic of the Union of the Principalities and of the Foundation of the Modern Romanian State, A Decisive Moment on the Road to Romania's Economic and Social Progress", by Manea Manescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, vice-president of the State Council, and Barbu Petrescu, director general of the Central Institute of Economic Research; "The National Unity -- A Permanent Feature of the Romanian People's Millenary History", by Academician Emil Condurachi; "The Role of Youth in the Homeland's History, in the Comprehensive process of Revolutionary Transformation of Society, for the Building of Socialism and Communism in Romania", by Nic Ceausescu, member of the CC of the RCP, first secretary of the CC of the UCY [Union of Communist Youth], Minister for youth affairs; "The Formation and Development of the National Army -- an Important Factor in the Romanian People's Struggle for Unity and Independence", by Colonel General Vasile Milea, first deputy minister of nat'onal defence, chief of staff; "The Romanians' Century-Old Struggles for Freedom and Independence -- Prerequisites of the Union of the Principalities", by Virgil Candea, Professor D., chairman of the "Romania" Association; "The Internal and External Circumstances of the Preparations for the Historic Art of January 24, 1859" and "Moldavia's Union to Walachia -- the Cornerstone in the Process of Building our National-Statal Unity", by Academician David Prodan and Professor Gheorghe Platon; "The Deep-Going Reforms and Changes Come About in the Structure of the Romanian Society After the Union", by Professor Dinu C. Giurescu D., and Professor Liviu Maior D.;"The People's Mass, the Worker, Socialist and Communist Movement -- A Decisive Factor of the Struggle for Progressive Social and National Transformations in the Romanian Society", by Mihai Cruceanu, a party member since 1921, and Gheorghe Zaharia, deputy director of the Institute of Historical and Socio-political Studies; "The Humanist and Patriotic Traditions of the Romanian Science, Culture and the Arts, Their Contribution to the Romanian People's National Unity", by Ion Ursu, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, first vice-chairman of the National Council for Science and Technology.

In conclusion, the session participants addressed a telegram to the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, to the general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu.

Gadea Addresses Exhibition

AU211932 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1835 GMT 21 Jan 84

[Excerpt] Bucharest, AGERPRES 21/1/1984 -- A plastic arts exhibition dedicated to the union, "125 years since the formation of the modern Romanian state", opened at the Arts Museum of the Socialist Republic of Romania on Saturday, January 21.

Attending were Petru Enache, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, vice-president of the State Council, Suzana Gadea, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, chairwoman of the Socialist Culture and Education Council, Nicu Ceausescu, member of the CC of the RCP, first secretary of the CC of the UCY [Union of Communist Youth], minister of youth affairs, Mihnea Gheorghiu, president of the Academy of Social and Political Sciences, Ion Irimescu, chairman of the Union of Plastic Artists, men of art and culture, a large audience.

The opening address was made by Suzana Gadea, who laid stress on the particular significance of the historic act of 125 years ago and emphasized that the union of Moldavia with Walachia in 1859 was a natural and law-like outcome of the long historical development of the Romanian people, of their continuous struggle for the attainment of their sacred rights to be free and masters of their own country.

MANESCU MEETS FRENCH SENATOR, DEFENSE MINISTER

AU201624 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1517 GMT 20 Jan 84

[Text] Paris AGERPRES 20/1/1984 -- Manea Manescu, vice-president of Romania's State Council, now paying a visit of friendship to France, met with Alain Poher, president of the French Senate. Alain Poher asked that President Nicolae Ceausescu be conveyed best wishes of good health, personal happiness and successes in his work for Romania's prosperity, wishes of progress to the Romanian people, as he is an old and truthful friend of the Romanian people.

The president of the French Senate evoked his meetings and talks with President Nicolae Ceausescu, in Bucharest and Paris, expressing his appreciation of the Romanian head of state's personality, demarches and activity for security and peace in Europe and throughout the world.

Thanking, the vice-president of the State Council conveyed from President Nicolae Ceausescu wishes of good health and personal happiness to President Alain Poher, of prosperity to the friendly people.

The president of the French Senate was highly appreciative of the relations between Romania and France, countries linked up through profound affinities of common origin, culture and civilization, which further expand and deepen on the political, economic, technical, cultural and scientific planes and in other fields.

During the interview, views were exchanged at length on questions of the current international situation, on European issues in particular. Stress was laid on the pressing need for all governments and parliaments, all progressive forces and political movements, all peoples to resolutely act to halt the dangerous course of arming, to ensure and consolidate peace, collaboration and understanding in Europe and the world over.

Manea Manescu also met with Charles Hernu, French minister of defence, with whom he discussed questions related to security, cooperation and peace in Europe and throughout the world. Aspects of the many-sided collaboration between Romania and France were also discussed.

SPANISH COALITION LEADER MEETS CEAUSESCU

LD201631 Madrid Domestic Service in Spanish 1500 GMT 20 Jan 84

[Text] The president of the Popular Alliance, Spanish opposition leader Manuel Fraga, stressed the position of the West on security and disarmament during the meeting he had in Bucharest with Romanian leader Nicolae Ceausescu. The latter expressed his support for an increase in Hispanic-Romanian relations. The leader of the Popular Alliance will return tomorrow to Madrid where he will meet with former U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, who is on a private visit to Spain.

Talks With Officials

AU202045 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1919 GMT 20 Jan 84

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 20/1/1984 -- Manuel Fraga Iribarme, leader of the Federacion de Alianza Popular of Spain, paid a visit to Romania over January 14-20.

The guest had talks with Tamara Dobrin, executive chairman of the SDUF [Socialist Democracy and Unity Front] National Council, during which they exchanged information on the preoccupations and activity of the SDUF and of the Federacion de Alianza Popular of Spain.

The leader of the Spanish party had an interview also with Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly. On the occasion, they stressed the role incumbent on the two countries' parliaments in the development of the bilateral relations and in ensuring peace and consolidating understanding worldwide.

Aspects of development of the relations between Romania and Spain in the political, economic and cultural domains, as well as problems of the current international life were approached also during the talks the leader of the Spanish party had at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation and the Academy of Social and Political Sciences.

At the end of the Romanian visit, Manuel Fraga Iribarme lectured at the Association for International Law and International Relations on the Spanish contribution to the international law.

Departure for Spain

AU211747 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1425 GMT 21 Jan 84

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 21/1/1984 -- Manuel Fraga Iribarme, leader of the Federacion de Alianza Popular of Spain, left Bucharest on Saturday, January 21, after having paid a visit to Romania.

At the Otopeni Airport, the guest was seen off by Tamara Maria Dobrin, executive chairman of the National Council of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, by other officials.

SAWPY PRESIDIUM DISCUSSES PRESIDENCY ELECTIONS

LD211207 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1250 GMT 20 Jan 84

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 20 Jan (TANJUG) -- The forthcoming election of SFRY Presidency members cannot and must not be reduced to merely nominating and electing new members. This an opportunity to launch widespread and meaningful activity in all environments to perceive the further directions of our socioeconomic and political system. The report on its work that the SFRY Presidency is to submit to the SFRY Assembly, on which the public will be briefed, will be grounds for such debate. The Socialist Alliance has a special role in that activity, it was stated at today's session of the SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium.

In his opening speech, Jovan Dejanovic, SAWPY Federal Conference president, stressed that the collective method of work and responsibility has been expressed in the work of the SFRY Presidency. The Presidency, he added, has thereby gained even more political prestige and authority which was particularly significant for its work following Tito's death, when there was quite a lot of speculation in the world about our future, as well as attempts to sow dissension in our ranks and attack our revolution's basic achievements. That period demanded an exceptionally high degree of political wisdom and responsibility in order to democratically coordinate numerous and often contradictory standpoints and to find solutions in everyone's interest. Regardless of all the difficulties, Dejanovic said, today we can state that joint solutions have nearly always been found based upon the Constitution and above all the principles of full equality of the republics and provinces and their joint responsibility for the federation's tasks.

The newly elected SFRY Presidency will be able to lean in its work upon the rich experience of previous practice. However, he added, the tasks will continue to be very difficult and responsible. The election of a new Presidency is therefore a real opportunity for broad political debate on all issues relating to our further economic and political development.

Velizar Skerovic, the first participant in the debate, considers that the criteria for election of members of the SFRY Presidency contained in the Socialist Alliance document do not sufficiently reflect the needs of the present social moment. The current criteria are such, he said, as to facilitate election to all social functions from the muncipality to the federation. The basic criteria at this moment should be readiness and determination in the struggle to realize the economic stabilization policy. Skerovic also advocated application of the principle of several candidates for one post.

Franc Popit emphasized that the most responsible posts in the federation should not fall to people who have been insufficiently determined in their opposition to measures that have had a negative effect upon our socioeconomic developments.

In electing new members to the SFRY Presidency, the point of departure must be the need to strengthen the federation's position. The republics and provinces, which are the chief protagonists of the electoral procedures, should bear this in mind, Mitja Ribicic said. The current social moment also demands such a criterion, which is also the requirement of working people in all environments and all levels. This does not mean strengthening the federation in the unitarist sense, he added, as a body above the republics and provinces but, on the contrary, strengthening the federation in the direction of further developing our constitutional system. The republics and provinces must become greater factors in Yugoslav policy and stability. In this sense, the question of whether there should be one or more candidates is irrelevant. What is important is that the candidate of one republic or province be accepted throughout the country.

Uros Akdrievskiy also thinks that the election of members to the Presidency should be the entire country's affair. We must, he said, overcome that frequent practice where it is better to criticize one's own mother than one's republic. The SFRY Presidency must be composed of the most prestigious people, the most consistent fighters for the further development of socialist self-managing Yugoslavia: individuals who have an ability for and understanding of togetherness.

While not disputing the importance of the elections to the SFRY Presidency, Marjan Rozic pointed out the possibility that elections in other sociopolitical organizations, which are in progress or are soon to start, might be neglected.

Milan Seslija advocated that in future, at least two generations -- the wartime and postwar generations -- should be represented in the Presidency. We cannot limit revolutionary spirit to the period up to 1945.

Every member of the SFRY Presidency must indisputably enjoy esteem in and the support of the whole country. Nevertheless, it would be unrealistic to demand that they ignore the real interests of their own republics and provinces, Kiro Hadzivasilev said. It should, however, be stated that there are no interests that cannot be regarded within the framework of the other interests and a joint interest on that basis. Kiro Hadzivasilev thinks that the election cannot be reduced just to the question of how many candidates there should be. In the process of nominating candidates, there should be as many candidates as emerge from the democratic debate, but the question arises why there should be several candidates at the election. Do they represent differing policies or do they have differing interests? We cannot permit either of these. Incidentally, whenever we have had several candidates, incidents that did not contribute to the development of democracy have been created.

We have had incidences when the only candidates were "imposed" from above, Velizar Skerovic commented.

The majority of the speakers in the debate think that the question of the number of candidates is the affair of the republic or province, but that this is not a central issue in the electoral system in any event. What is important is that in all this activity as a whole the correct problems of economic and political development should be put forward. When this is done, it will be no problem to elect the best people.

Continuing the session, the Presidium members examined data on the state of the market following the prices freeze. Speaking about violations of the Federal Executive Council decision, Luka Reljic underlined that between 24 December and 7 January, inspectors carried out 1,381 examinations and brought 141 charges for violations before the public prosecutors and judges.

At the end of the debate, the positions of the SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium were ratified, which stated that the prices of products and services that were raised after 20 December must be returned to their previous level if the price increase does not accord with the Federal Executive Council decision. The demand that political and other accountability of all individuals and organs that violated the decision be determined was also stressed.

At the session, a decision was adopted on the election of Sreten Penezic as chairman of the SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium Committee for Housing Policy.